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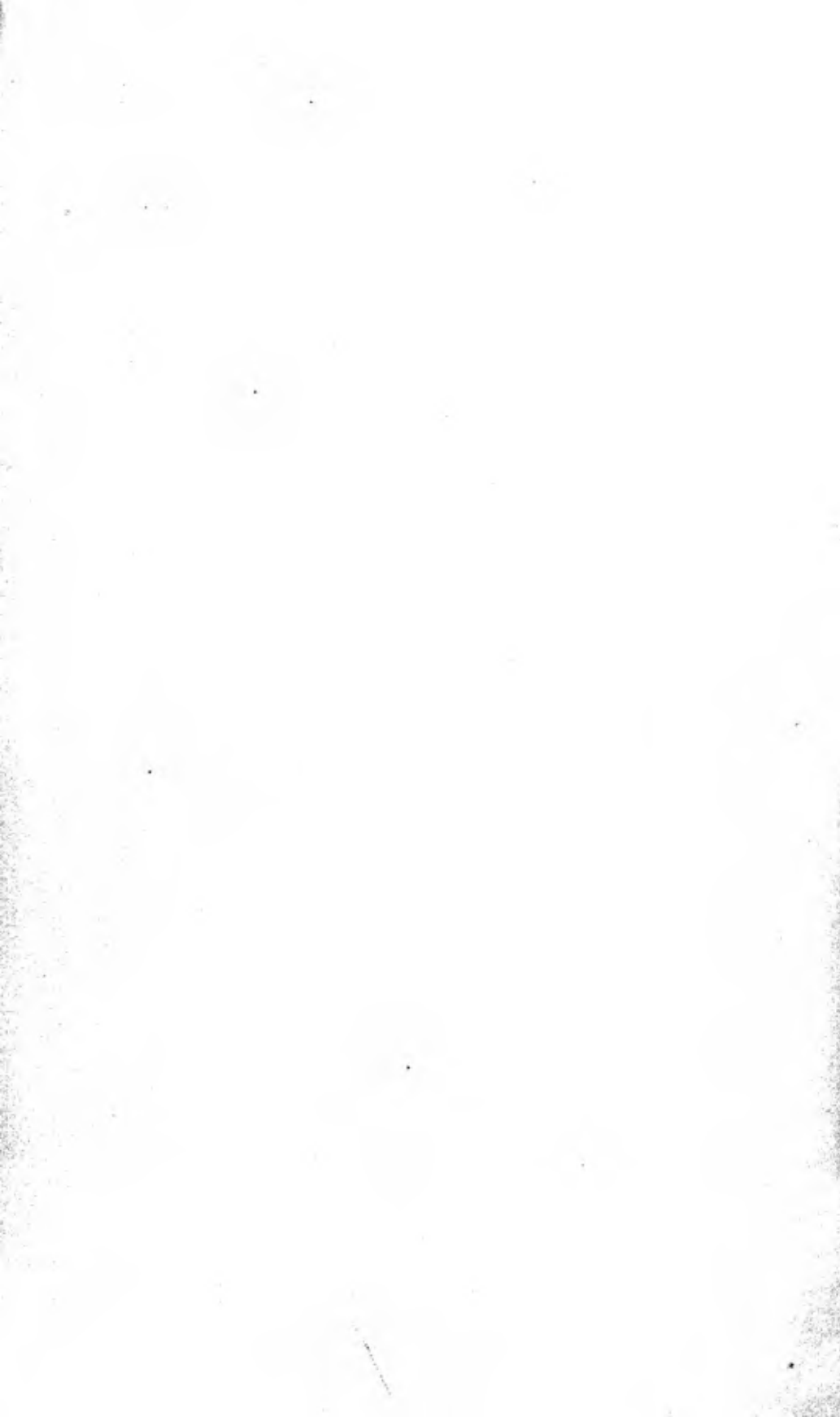
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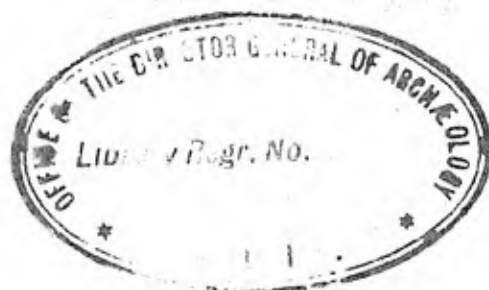
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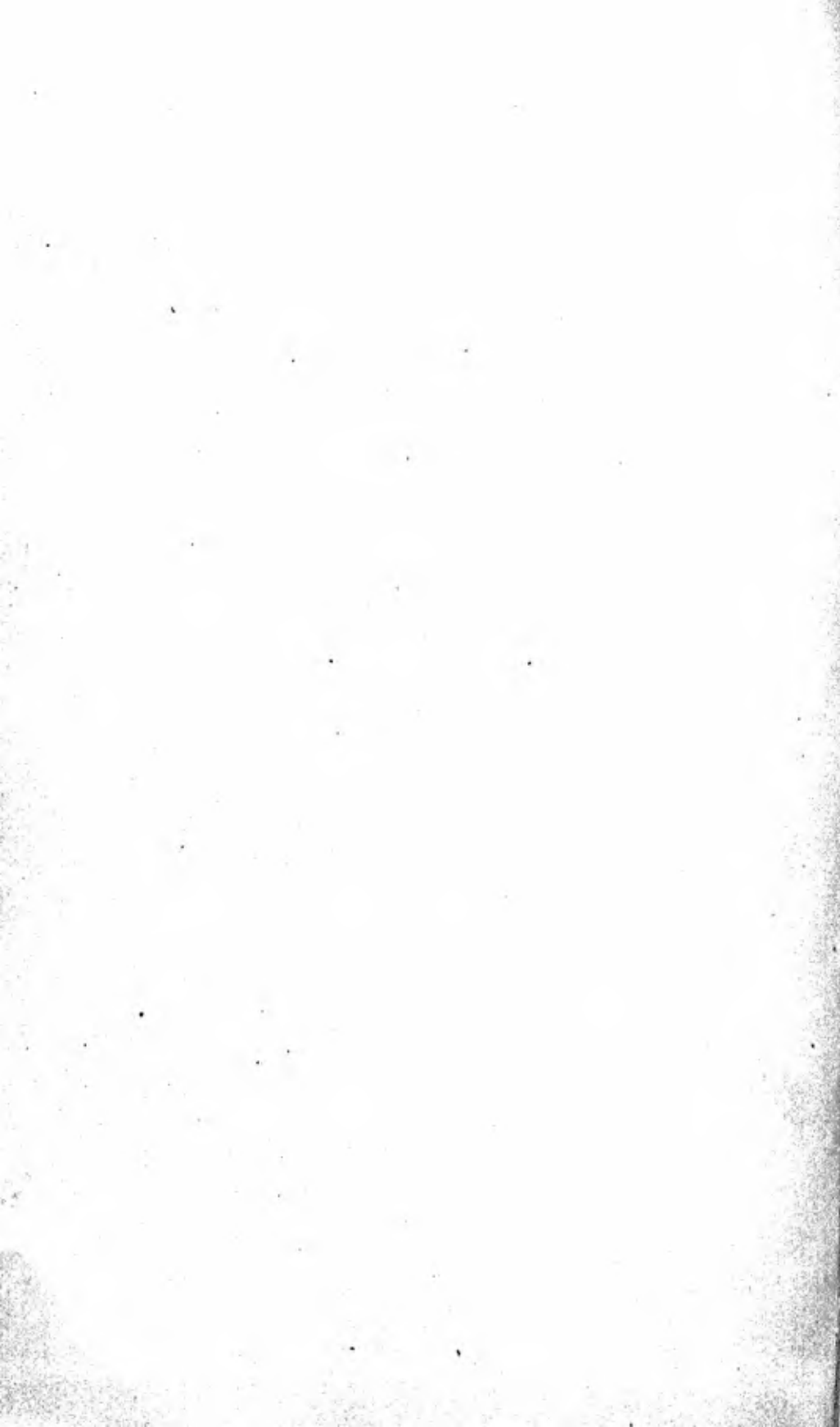
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*Arle'et: The Magic Book of the Disciples.*—By Dr. ENNO  
LITTMANN, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

FOLKLORE and the science of comparative religion have made much progress within the last quarter of the past century: the magic superstitions and popular religious beliefs of all peoples have been studied, and the results of such studies have, often with marked success, been applied to certain phases of the history of the great religions of the world. For instance, the idea of the name of God, as represented in the Old and New Testaments, has gained an entirely new aspect and has been discussed in a much more plausible manner than ever before, since ethnology and folklore have contributed to its elucidation.<sup>1</sup> This instance has been chosen here instead of a great many others, because it touches directly upon the contents of the Ethiopic book published and translated in the following pages.

Abyssinia is a mine of superstitions and magic practices, and many of them have been written down in the Ethiopic language. A large part of the Ethiopic literature, therefore, is magic literature. This, however, has attracted very few scholars, no doubt partly owing to the crabbedness of the subject, but partly also to the fact that there have been but few workers in the field. Except the French translations of several magic

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<sup>1</sup> See Fr. Giesebrecht, *Die alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens*, Königsberg, 1901 (especially p. 6). Wilhelm Heitmüller, "Im Namen Jesu." Göttingen, 1903.

prayers, published by Professor Basset in his *Apocryphes Éthiopiens*, very little has been done in this line.<sup>1</sup> But I trust that the time will come when the abundant Ethiopic material will be available for students of folklore and magic.

Among the Ethiopic magic books, the one commonly called *Arde'et*, i. e. "the Disciples," is held very precious by the Abyssinians, and is of interest to us in more than one respect. It tells how Jesus taught the Disciples his secret names, among them the "great name;" how the Disciples went about performing miracles by the power of Christ's name, and were themselves saved by it from the wrath of the people of Sodom and Gomorrah and from many kings and rulers; and finally, how Jesus showed them hell and paradise. The whole is interwoven with a number of long prayers which sometimes, as e. g. in chapters IV and VI, are real compendiums of Abyssinian magic.<sup>2</sup>

Some of the traditions set forth in this book are undoubtedly as early as the first centuries of the Christian era; this is proved by the fact that we find them in gnostic literature. Among these the most striking is the legend of the journey of the Apostles to hell and paradise, led by Christ; the same was known to the gnostics, as we see from C. Schmidt's *Untersuchungen über die gnostischen Werke*.<sup>3</sup> Other parallels are the following: In VIII, 15 Jesus forbids his Disciples to reveal the secrets which they have heard; the same is told in gnostic works.<sup>4</sup> In VIII, 16 seq. we read that the secrets revealed here are given to no one else except Mary, John "the Virgin," Abraham, and Moses; this is to be compared with the gnostic tradition that John *παρθένος* was the highest among the Disciples. Our book, however, speaks of John "the Virgin" as being the Baptist, because the other John was included among the Disciples. Finally we may cite here the "great name" (VIII, 24), which seems to have played an important rôle in the gnostic

<sup>1</sup> See also Dr. K. Fries' edition and translation of *The Ethiopic Legend of Socinius and Ursula*, in *Actes du VIII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes*, and my article *The Princeton Ethiopic Magic Scroll*, in *The Princeton University Bulletin*, vol. xv., pp. 31-42.

<sup>2</sup> See especially IV, 20 and VI, 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Gnostische Schriften in Koptischer Sprache*, Leipzig, 1892 (*Texte und Untersuchungen VIII*), p. 464.

<sup>4</sup> Schmidt, l. c., p. 465.

system.<sup>1</sup> This tends to show that there are at least certain elements in "Arde'et" that are to be connected with apocryphal ideas of ancient Christianity. A more detailed discussion of these questions, and particularly a full enquiry into the literary composition and the derivation of Chapters II-VII cannot be given here. I hope that somebody more fit for this work than myself may soon undertake the study. For the present, attention may be called to the following:

It seems to me safe to conclude that the Ethiopic Arde'et, in the form in which we have it now, was composed at some time between the 14th and 17th centuries A. D. The *terminus ad quem* is given by the fact that manuscripts containing this work belong to the 17th or 18th century;<sup>2</sup> the other date is naturally suggested (1) by the Amharic influence which appears throughout the book, showing itself in grammatical constructions, order of words, neglect of the cases, etc.; and (2) by the history of Ethiopic literature; for in the 14th century there was much literary activity in Abyssinia, especially during the reign of Zar'a Yā'qōb, and a number of magic books are known to have been translated or composed at that time,<sup>3</sup> among others a magic work which seems to be closely related to Arde'et, viz. *Asmāta Egzi'ena* "The Names of our Lord." Now the question arises at once whether Arde'et is an original Abyssinian composition, or whether it is a translation like the larger part of Ethiopic literature. The parallels quoted in the foregoing paragraph do not afford conclusive evidence; for the hypothetical author of Arde'et may have read them elsewhere and adopted them into his own composition. However this may be, we must count with the fact that there is (A) a long and (B) a short recension of Arde'et: the former is represented by the text published here; the latter by Basset's translation, published in his *Apocryphes Ethiopiens*.<sup>4</sup> The short recension corresponds to ch. II, 17-30 and ch. VIII of the longer one, i. e. it gives only the names of Christ and the vision of hell. Moreover, we

<sup>1</sup> Ib. p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Conti Rossini, *Note per la storia letteraria abissina*, p. 51, mentions a manuscript in the British Museum, Or. 65, belonging to the XVI. century, but in Wright's *Catalogue* no Or. 65 is to be found.

<sup>3</sup> See Conti Rossini, *l. c.*, § 18.

<sup>4</sup> No. VII: *Enseignements de Jésus-Christ à ses Disciples*.

must take into consideration that a number of passages in A describing Abyssinian magic practices can scarcely have been translated, and again that there are other passages which seem to have been badly translated from a foreign language; among others the word *Kīrābōs* in VIII, 18 may be due to a wrong reading of an Arabic word (كلديوس for كمرنوس), and the name *Latanāwē*<sup>1</sup> may be explained from the Arabic. I conjecture, therefore, that the author (or compiler) of Arde'et had certain translations before him—perhaps chiefly chapters II, VIII, IX—and that he worked them over and incorporated them into his work, which, after all, may contain very little written by the man himself. Whatever the relation between recensions A and B may be, there is no doubt that, in spite of the somewhat rugged disposition of the matters and the abrupt transitions, the longer recension was compiled with the intention to make the whole a single connected narrative. This is shown by introduction and conclusion; ch. I, 5–7 gives a very brief idea of what is to be found in the ensuing work and refers to several of the events narrated in chs. II seq.; and again the verses IX, 8 seq. recapitulate what has been told in the entire book.

A few words remain to be said here on what Arde'et contributes toward our knowledge of the so-called "philosophy of names." Although the idea of the power of the "name" runs like a red thread through the whole book, and thus furnishes new material concerning the results reached by the recitation of names, the list of such names and their translations, given in ch. II, 18 seq., is perhaps even more interesting. For here we learn that, notwithstanding all the humbug and ignorance connected with the "names" and the *ephesia grammata*, a great many of them had originally a definite meaning which was in keeping with the derivation of the word. In *Anān'el*, "forgiver" (II, 20) we easily recognize the Hebrew חַנּוּנֵאל "God is gracious"; *Geyōn* "rich" (*ibid.*) is very probably the Hebrew גֵּיאוֹן; and if *Lāhān*, *Lāhān*, *Lāhān* is interpreted

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. חַנּוּנֵאל and חַנּוּנֵאל in Schwab, *Vocabulaire de l'Angéologie*, Paris, 1897, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. גֵּיאוֹן, *ib.*, p. 90.

here (II, 29) "god of gods," we see that the original meaning of the Aramaic 'allāhā or the Arabic 'ilāh is still reflected; *Menūtēr* "all-keeper" (II, 24) seems to go back through a Greek *Μενυτ(τ)ηρ* to a Hebrew-Aramaic מנטר; *Kēnyā* "wise" (II, 20) may be derived from the Hebrew כנייה another form for יהיכין "God erects," but its meaning here has been influenced by that of the Ethiopic word *Kēnyā*,<sup>2</sup> which corresponds to the Greek τεχνίτης. If we consider how often these names must have been copied and recopied, and through how many languages and hands they must have passed, it is only remarkable that there really are some words which are still intelligible. At the same time we see again that a large number of these "names" originated in Hebrew or Aramaic, and that Jewish demonology and angelology had a very widespread influence among the Christians of many different nations. Other Hebrew names represented in our list, which have lost their original meanings, are: *Īyāhē* (vs. 18), *Yāu* (vs. 26), both as it seems to me, standing for *Iaw* or *Yahweh*<sup>3</sup>; *Sārāhē* (vs. 18, standing for *Sārāhēl*?), with which we may compare סורה or סוריאל or צוריאל;<sup>4</sup> *Demāhēl* (vs. 18)<sup>5</sup>; *Abyātēr* and *Menyātēr* (vs. 19) correspond to the Hebrew forms אביתר and בניתר; *Īyā'ēl* (vs. 22) = יואל; *Amānā'ēl* (vs. 22) = עמנואל; *Īfrā'ēl* (vs. 23) = אפריאל;<sup>6</sup> *Māryōn* (v. 23) is probably some derivative of the Aramaic *Mārī*<sup>7</sup>; also the names 'Ēl, 'Ēlāhē, *Ṣabā'ūt*,<sup>8</sup> *Urā'ēl* are recognized to be Hebrew at first appearance. There may be one name in this list which is to be explained from the Arabic, viz: *Latunāwē* "he does not delay" (vs. 22); for this may be

لا تأدى. But a number of Greek names also are to be found among the Abyssinian *ephesia grammata*: I believe that most of the names ending in *-ōs* at least have passed through the Greek. Such names in *-ōs* occur quite frequently in Ethiopic magic literature; six different names are given, e. g., in *Arde'et*,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. נטרי, *ib.*, p. 186.<sup>2</sup> See כניאל, *ib.*, p. 156.<sup>3</sup> This is sometimes used as an attribute of God or Christ; see Dillmann, *Lex. Aeth.*, s. v.<sup>4</sup> See Schwab, *l. c.*, pp. 141, 142, 290.<sup>5</sup> *ib.*, pp. 195, 196, 230.<sup>6</sup> *ib.*, p. 104.<sup>7</sup> This is an Old Testament name; cf. Schwab, *l. c.*, p. 37.<sup>8</sup> *ib.*, p. 144.<sup>9</sup> *ib.*, p. 212.<sup>10</sup> *ib.*, p. 70.<sup>11</sup> *ib.*, p. 179.<sup>12</sup> Sabaoth was well known to the gnostics.



ch. VIII, 24. In this list, again, we meet several Hebrew names, but it would lead me too far here to treat of all these in detail. In conclusion, I wish to refer to the parallel passages given by Basset, in his *Apocryphes Éthiopiens*, VIII, pp. 6 and 7, footnotes, and to the very instructive and interesting discussion of the "philosophy of names" by Heitnallier in his book "*Im Namen Jesu*," Zweiter Teil, *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, especially pp. 156 seq.

The manuscript from which the following text is published was acquired in 1900 in Jerusalem, and forms now No. 4 of my small collection of Ethiopic manuscripts. It consists of 81 leaves of heavy parchment, measuring  $19 \times 13$  centimeters. The written space measures  $13 \times 10$  centimeters on an average. This space is divided into two columns with a space of 1 cm. between them, each column containing 19 lines of bold but very regular and well executed writing. The character of the script and the condition of the parchment indicate that the manuscript is scarcely later than the 17th century.

Leaf 1 is blank. Fol. 2 ro-34 vo contain a copy of Arde'et; fol. 35 ro-51 ro the prayer of Mary at Bärtōs; fol. 51 vo-81 ro the prayer of Cyprian.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript was written for a certain Gabra Giörgīs, whose name appeared at the end of a number of inserted invocations, but has been erased almost throughout the book. Such insertions are known to be very common in Ethiopic prayers. They are doubtless in many cases later additions, but sometimes it seems as though they belonged to the originals. All of them, however, are indicated in my translation by smaller type. I thought it worth while to edit this text in Ethiopic, even from a single manuscript; for it is desirable that some, at least, of the Ethiopic magic books should be published in the originals. On the other hand, I scarcely believe that a comparison of many manuscripts would be of much avail in this case, particularly as my copy is one of the oldest of this book and presents on the whole a reasonably accurate text; I have, therefore, dispensed with an elaborate *apparatus criticus*. There are, of course, some mistakes which I have attempted to correct from the context. Every case in which my edition dif-

<sup>1</sup> Both were translated by Professor Basset in his *Apocryphes Éthiopiens*, Nos. V and VI.

fers from the manuscript has been indicated, except the punctuation, which I have changed in a few cases in order to make clearer the division of the sentences. Words which I propose to omit are enclosed in parentheses, whereas brackets indicate additions of my own. I have also deemed it desirable to divide the whole into chapters and verses, a division which is not found in the manuscript. Some later reader, however, has indicated a division according to the days of the week by placing, in a very inelegant hand, the words "for Tuesday, etc." on the top margin of certain pages, but it is not always clear where in the text he intended to make the division. We find **ዘሠሉስ**: on fol. 6 vo; **ዘረሐብ**: on 9 vo; **ዘሐመስ**: on 16 ro; **ዘግርብ**: on 21 ro; **ዘቀዳም**: on 28 ro.; **ዘዕሐድ**: on 33 ro. Besides this there are a number of marginal notes added by later hands.

The other manuscripts of Arde'et, extant in European libraries, are enumerated in Dr. Conti Rossini's *Note per la storia letteraria abissina*, p. 51, s. v. *Arde'et*. In this paragraph we should read "§ 18" instead of "§ 16." The manuscripts 573, 574, 578 of the British Museum mentioned here do not contain the work ordinarily called "Arde'et," but hymns addressed to the Apostles; a mistake must be contained in the figure 65 (see above, p. 4, footnote).

- 2 ro.    **በስመ: አብ: ወወልድ: ወመንፈስ: ቅዱስ: ኧ አምላክነ ነገር: አርድ ኧ** 1  
**እት: ኧወኧ ዘከመ: ነገሮም: አገሱስ: በዘይድኣ: እምኃጢእት:: ወለ** 2  
**ክመሂ: ኧንገረክመ: ንሕነ: በዘትድኣ: እምክሉ: ኃጢእት: ወእምክ**  
**ሉ: እክይ: ነገር: ወቅስት: እገለ: እመሕያው:: ወበዘ: ድኣ: እም** 3  
**ክሉ: ፀራዊ: ወኣምዘ: አርዊ: ምድር: ወእምክሉ: ዘላቱ: ኣምዘ: ዘ**  
**ይቀትል: ነፍሰ: ወሥጋ: ወእምክሉ: ሕማም: ወድካመ: [ሥጋ:]<sup>1</sup> ወ**  
**ቅጥቃጤ: አፅፅምት: ወ(በዘይድኣ:) እምጽርፈት: ወመርገም: ወእም**  
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 2 vo.    **ብ: ንቤሆመ: ወዘይድኣ: እምክሉ: እኩይ: እምድድቅ: ወእም**  
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**ሉ: ፍጥረት:: ወበዘ: ረከሉ: ጥገሰ: እምኣብ: ክሉ: ፍጥረት: እገለ:** 6  
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<sup>1</sup> Not in MS.; added according to a MS. of the British Museum (Dillmann, No. LXXXVIII).

<sup>2</sup> MS. ፍ.

- ምደ: እሳት: ወበዝ: በርሃ: ገጸሙ: ከመ: ፀሐይ: በቅድመ: ዙሉ: ሕዝበ: አረማዊ: ወክርስቲያናዊ: ወዙሉ: ዘተገብረ: ሎሙ: ለኃወ፤ 7  
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 3 vo. አፀርክትየ: ወአንትሙ: መጥርስትየ: ወአነ: ኃረይክክሙ: እምዙሉ: 3  
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1 MS. ሰ.

2 MS. ወይኩንዮ.

3 ቃልየ sec. manu.

- 5 ro. C22: መሐረ፤ ወተግሃለ፤ እምክሉ: ኃጢአት: ወእምስሐተተ: ሰይጣን: ወእምክሉ: እኩይ: ወተማኅፀዢ: ሰገብርክ: ገብረ: ጊዮርጊስ: ወፃ 11  
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 6 ro. ዕል: ሴቃ: ብ: ኩና፤: ጼቃ: ብሂል: አኃይ: ክሉ: ሰተናዊ: ብ[: ] 21  
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1 MS. ቡቁ.

2 ይእተ sec. manu.

3 ሰ sec. manu for ሰ.

4 MS. ብ: አፍደኪር.

5 MS. ጸ'': ብ''.

ቢ፡ ወገግኢ፡ አፍርየን፡ ብሂል፡ መደንገ፡ ቃል፡<sup>1</sup> አፍራፍታ፡ [ብሂል፡]  
 ንጉሠ፡ የገሥት፡ ላሃን፡ ላሃን፡ ላሃን፡ ብሂል[፡] አምላክ፡ አማልክት፡ 29  
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 ስብሐር፡ ሊኖሱሽ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ ጸባዖት፡ ቅዱስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ዘኢይመ  
 ውት፡ እምዘ፡ ጻገመ፡ እስከ፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለም፡ አሜን፡ ወእምድሃረ፡ 31  
 ፈጸመ፡ የገረ፡ ሊኖሱሽ፡ አስማቲሁ፡ ወካዕበ፡ ይቤሉሙ፡ ሊኖሱሽ፡ ለእር  
 ጻፊሁ፡ ሑ፡ ወመሀ፡ ወስብኩ፡ በስምየ፡ እለ፡ ለምጸ፡ አንጽሑ፡ በ  
 ዝንቶ፡ ስምየ፡ ወአጋንንተ፡ አውፅኤ፡ በዝንቶ፡ ስምየ፡ ወትድሃኔ፡ እም  
 ዝንቶ፡ ኃይለ፡ ጸላኤ፡ አጋንንተ፡ ፈጽሙ፡ አፋሆሙ፡ በዝንቶ፡ ስምየ፡ ወ 32  
 ትድሃኔ፡ እምበላ፤ እሳት፡ በዝንቶ፡ ስምየ፡ ወትረክሱ፡ ምሉዓ፡ ጸጋ፡  
 ወጥገሰ፡ ፍጹመ፡ በኃበ፡ ዙሎሙ፡ አሕዛብ፡ ምድር፡ ወየገሥት፡ በዝንቶ፡  
 ስምየ፡ ወአልቦ፡ ዘይክል፡ ኪዳክሙ፡ መዋገዝሙ፡ ዙሎ፡ ፍጥረት፡ ይፈ 33  
 7 ro. ርሁ፡ ወደርዕዱ፡ ወደደንገ፡ እምቃልክሙ፡ ወይሰይዱ፡ ዙሎ፡ አጋንንት፡  
 ርክሳን፡ ወሶበ፡ ታኅርዋ፡ በዝንቶ፡ ስምየ፡ ከመዘ፡ በሉ፡ ሀበ፡ እግዚአ፡ 34  
 በኃይለ፡ ዝንቶ፡ እስማቲክ፡ ጸጋ፡ ምሉዓ፡ ወጥገሰ፡ ፍጹመ፡ እምኃበ፡  
 ዙሎሙ፡ አሕዛብ፡ ይፍርሁ፡ ዙሎ፡ ዘሰሙ፡ ነፍስ፡ ወደርዕዱ፡ በቃለ፡ ዚ  
 አ፤ ወበኃይለ፡ ዝንቶ፡ አስማቲክ፡ (ወ)ይሰይዱ፡ ሰይጣናት፡ ወኢይቅ 35  
 ረሱ፡ ኃቤየ፡ ወኢይልክ፡ ነፍስየ፡ ወሥጋየ፡ ሊተ፡ ለገብርክ፡ ///////////////  
 ጊዮርጊስ፡

ወሑ፡ ፤ ወ፩ አርድእት፡ ውስተ፡ ዙሎ፡ አህጉር፡ ኃበ፡ የገሥት፡ ወመኳ F 1  
 ንንት፡ ወይቤልሙ፡ እመኔ፡ በእግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ ዙሎ፡ ዘሥጋ፡  
 ከመ፡ ታእምሩ፡ ወትእመኔ፡ ወለእመ፡ ተአመንክሙ፡ ኪዳ፡ ትድሃኔ፡  
 በዝንቶ፡ ስሙ፡ ለመድኃኒ፡ ተበሃሉ፡ ዙሎ፡ ሕዝብ፡ በበይናቲሆሙ፡ 2  
 እስከ፡ ንጉሳ፡ ከመ፡ ብክሙ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ወእስከ[፡] ፈውስሙ፡ ለ  
 7 vo. እሱንቶ፡ ድውይን፡ ወሰእመ፡ ብክሙ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ንሕነ፡ ንእመን፡ በአ  
 ምላክክሙ፡ ወይቤልሙ፡ አርድእት፡ ለዙሎ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ንፁ፡ ትር 3  
 አዩ፡ ወአምጽእሙ፡ ለዙሎ፡ ድውይን፡ ወሕመማን፡ ንሕነ፡ ንፈ  
 ውሶሙ፡ በጸጋ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወአንበሱ፡ ፤ ወ፩አርድእት፡ ዘንተ፡ 4  
 አስማተ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ወሶበ፡ ይዱልዮ፡ ተርጓሙ፡ ሎሙ፡ ሰማይት፡  
 ወርእዩ፡ ርጓሙ፡ ወሶበ፡ ርእይሙ፡ ርጓሙ፡ ተፈሥሑ፡ ሶበሃ፡ ዓቢየ፡  
 ፍሥሐ፡ ወበርሃ፡ ገጸሙ፡ እምፀሐይ፡ በቅድመ፡ ዙሎ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ወፈርህዎ  
 ሙ፡ ወደንገ፡ እምቃሎሙ፡ ዙሎ፡ ሰብእ፡ ወተፈወሱ፡ ዙሎ፡ ድውይን፡  
 በዝንቶ፡ ቃሳት፡ ከማሁ፡ ፈውሰ፤ ሊተ፡ ለገብርክ፡ /////////////// ጊዮርጊስ፡ 5  
 ወአምኔ፡ ዙሎሙ፡ ሕዝብ፡ በቃሎሙ፡ ወይቤልሙ፡ በአማን፡ አርድእት፡ 6  
 8 ro. ለኢኖሱስ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ አንትሙ፡ ጽኑን፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ወበሃይማኖ

<sup>1</sup> MS. መ፡፡ ቃል፡ ብ፡፡<sup>2</sup> ፈውሶሙ prima manu.<sup>3</sup> አስማተ secunda manu.

ት፡ እንትሙ። ወካዕበ፡ ሖፋ፡ ከመ፡ ያርእዩ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ በዝንቹ፡ ጸሎት፡ 7  
 ት፡ ወበጽሑ፡ ንበ፡ ተጋብሑ፡ ብዙኃን፡ አጋንንት፡ ወዘንት፡ ጸሎት፡ ጸሎ፡  
 ወጸው፡ አስማት፡ እግዚአብሔር። ወነሥሑ፡ ሐመደ፡ በእደዊሆሙ፡ ወ  
 እንቃዕደዉ፡ እንሢሎሙ፡ አዕይንቲሆሙ፡ ውስተ፡ ሰማይ። አስተብቅዕዎ፡ 8  
 ወይቤልዎ፡ ኃቢሮሙ፡ በፏቃል፡ ዝርዎሙ፡ እግዚአ፡ ለሐሎሙ፡ አጋንንት፡  
 እለ፡ ይፀብሑ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዝንቹ፡ አስማቲክ፡ ቅዱሳት፡ ፈጽሞ፡ አፋሆሙ፡ ወ  
 አድክም፡ ኃይሎሙ። ወዘንት፡ እምድሃረ፡ ይቤሉ፡ ነዘኑ፡ ሐመደ፡  
 ባዕሌሆሙ። ጠፍሑ፡ ወሐልቁ፡ ዙሎሙ፡ አጋንንት፡ ርኩሳን፡ በዝንቹ፡ እ  
 ስማት፡ ክርስቲስ፡ ጅወ [፻፱] አጋንንት፡ ተዘርዉ። ወከማሁ፡ ዝርዎሙ፡ 9  
 ለሐሎሙ፡ አጋንንት፡ ወመፍፍስት፡ ርኩሳን፡ ወለሐሎሙ፡ እለ፡ ይፀብሑ  
 ኒ። ወለእለ፡ ይጸንፀኒ፡ ሊት፡ ለገብርክ፡ /////////////// በኃይለ፡ ዝንቹ፡ እ  
 ስማቲክ፡ አድሃዚ፡ እግዚአ፡ እምሐሉ፡ እኩይ፡ ፀብዕ፡ ወቀትል፡ ወአፈ፡ ፀራ  
 ዊ፡ ወርግዘት፡ ኩፍት፡ ወስረተ፡ ሐፀ፡ ወውግረተ፡ ዕብን። ወእምሐሉ፡ 11  
 ሰብእ፡ በባሕ፡ ወተባሕ፡ ወእምሐሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ ቀጣፊ፡ ወተቀጣፊ፡ እምሐሉ፡  
 ሰብእ፡ ገሳሲ፡ ወተገሳሲ፡ እምሐሉ፡ ኃይል፡ ወመስተፃፃል፡ እምሐሉ፡ ሰብእ፡  
 ሐባሊ፡ ወመስተዋድይ። ወእምሐሉ፡ ተፃጋሊ፡ ወእምሐሉ፡ መስተፃጋሊ፡  
 ወእምሐሉ፡ ጣዖት፡ ማሪ፡ ወማሪት። ወእምሐሉ፡ ሥርው፡ ወሥራይ፡  
 ወእምሐሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ ጸራፊ፡ ወረጋሚ። ወእምሐሉ፡ በባዕያ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወስ  
 ታዕያ፡ ይም፡ ወእምሐሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ ፀር፡ ዘትቤ፡ ወዘገዳም፡ ወእምሐሉ፡  
 ሰብእ፡ ቀታሌ፡ ነፍስ፡ ወጸናሑ፡ ፍኖት። እምሐሉ፡ አርፄ፡ ወካይሲ፡ 12  
 ዘሰቱ፡ ሃምዝ፡ ዘይቀትል፡ ነፍስ፡ ወእምሐሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ ሃማዊ፡ ዘይስተፃ  
 ሉ፡ ነፍስ፡ በነፍስ፡ ወእምሐሉ፡ ዘርእኩ፡ ዘስማዕኩ፡ ወዘሊስማዕኩ፡ ወ  
 ዘትቤ፡ ወዘገዳም፡ ዘርእቅ፡ ወዘቅሩብ፡ እምሐሉ፡ ዘይመክር፡ እኩየ፡  
 ባዕሊ፡ አድሃዚ፡ ሊት፡ ለገብርክ፡ /////////////// እግዚአ፡ መሐረኒ፡ 13  
 እምሐሉ፡ ሐማም፡ ወምንጻቤ፡ ወድካመ፡ ነፍስ፡ ወሥጋ፡ ወእምሐ  
 ሉ፡ ሐማመ፡ ማቋይ፡ ወግብጥ፡ ወድድቅ፡ ወጋዜ፡ ቀትር፡ ወሐማም፡  
 ዘቁላ፡ ወዘደጋ፡ ወእምዝ፡ ዙሉ፡ ይቤ፡ እየሱስ፡ ወዙሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ 14  
 ዘእምን፡ ወዘአንበሳ፡ ወዘተሐፀላ፡ ወዘተረቅየ፡ በዝንቹ፡ ጸሎት። ወይ  
 ከው፡ ፍጹመ፡ ሞገስ፡ ወመግረሬ፡ ፀር፡ ወመስደደ፡ አጋንንት፡ ወመድ  
 ኃይት፡ ነፍስ፡ ወማሃፀቤ፡ ኃጢአት፡ በደኃሪት፡ ዕለት፡ ይዙ፡ ለገብርክ፡

///////////////// | ///////////////////

ወሶቤሃ፡ ፈጽሞ፡ ዘነት፡ ነገር፡ ነወጄ አርድእት። ወሶቤሃ፡ ወሖፋ፡ ንበ፡ 1  
 (ዙሉ፡) ሰብእ፡ ፋርስ፡ ወካመ፡ ይስብኩ፡ ወይንግሩ፡ ወይምሐሩ፡ ለዙሉ፡ ሕ  
 ዝበ፡ ፋርስ፡ በጽሑ፡ ንበ፡ ጅወ፤ ነገሥት፡ ወመኳንንት። ወቆሙ፡ ማእከ  
 ሎሙ፡ ወይቤልዎሙ። ናሁ፡ እግዚእነ፡ ፈነወነ፡ ገቤካሙ፡ ካመ፡ ንነፃ 2  
 ርክሙ፡ ወካመ፡ ንፈውስካሙ፡ ዙሉ፡ ድውደካሙ፡ በጸጋሁ፡ ለእየሱስ፡

<sup>1</sup> MS. ሐፋ corrected from ሐፋ.

<sup>2</sup> Corrected from ታርእዩ.

<sup>3</sup> Corrected from አስማቲክ.

<sup>4</sup> MS. ወጸደሐ.

<sup>5</sup> H add. sec. man.

<sup>6</sup> Add. sec. man.

<sup>7</sup> ፈነወነ sec. man.



<sup>6</sup> Sec. man.: MS. originally *ḥḥḥ*.

- ድሉ፡ ፀር፤ ወጸላእን፤ ሀበ፤ ሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት፡ ማሳተሚ፡ አፋሆ  
 ሙ፡ ወመልገሚ፡ ልሳኖሙ፡ ወማዕፀዊ፡ ጉርጓሆሙ፡ ለድሉሙ፡ እለ፡  
 ይትዋቀሱ፤ ወይትናገሩ፤ በነገር፡ እኩይ፡ ሀበ፤ ሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት፡ 14  
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 ን፡ ወማዕፀዊን፤ ወዘርዘር፡ ምክሮሙ፡ ወአጥፍእ፡ ሕሊና፡ ልቦሙ፡ ወእ  
 ንግልጋሆሙ፡ ወአጥፍእ፡ ዘይነሱ፡ በልሳኖሙ፡ ወአቅብጽ፡ ዘይትናገሩ፡ በአ  
 12 ro. ፋሆሙ፡ ሀበ፤ እግዚአ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት፡ ወጸሎት፡ ቅዱስ፡ በዘ 16  
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 ታሆሙ፡ ወኩናትሙ፡ ወይሰበር፡ አቅስስቲሆሙ፡ ወአሕፃሆሙ፡ ሀበ፤ 17  
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 ር፤ ወንሰሉ፡ በዘኢየሱስተ፤ ሰይጣን፡ ወከመ፡ ሊደውደቁ፤ ውስተ፡ ገበ፡ ኃ  
 ጢአት፡ ሀበ፤ ዓቢ፡ ረድሕት፡ ወተስፋ፡ አሚን፡ ወበሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት፡ 18  
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 ሚፖ፡ ይርከበ፤ ሣህልክ፤ በቅድሚኩ፡ ትፍሥሕት፡ ዘኢየሱስ፡ ወበረከተ፡  
 ዘኢየሱስ፡ ወንጽጉብ፡ በረከተ፡ ቤትክ፡ በዳኅና፡ ወበሰላም፡ እምዕለት፡  
 እኪት፡ ሀበ፤ ሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት፡ ወጸሎት፡ ቅዱስ፡ በዘኢየሱስተ፤ ዓቃ 19  
 12 vo. ብደ፤ ሥራይ፡ አንስር፡ ወአርድስ፡ ፈውሎሙ፡ ወንስት፡ ኃይሎሙ፡ ወዘርወ፡  
 ድሉ፡ ምግባሮሙ፡ ሀበ፤ ሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት፡ ወጸሎት፡ ቅዱስ፡ ከመ፡ 20  
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 ይ፡ ወወርሃ፡ በአደባር፡ ወበአውግር፡ በስብሐት፡ ወበዕጣን፡ ታቦት፡ ገ  
 ሲሰሙ፡ ወማየ፡ (የ፡) ነጹሮሙ፡ ወምደረ፡ ጉድጉደሙ፡ በዘንቶ፤ እለ፡  
 ይረገም፤ ሊትስ፡ ምምሙ፡ ድሉ፡ ስእለት፡ ልቦሙ፡ ወኢት፡ ወከፍ፡ ዕጣኖ  
 ሙ፡ ወመርገሞሙ፤ ይግባእ፡ ደብ፡ ርእሶሙ፡ ወይወረሙ፡ ሰፃሎሙ፡ ዓ  
 ሰም፡ አሚን፡ ሀበ፤ ሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት፡ ወጸሎት፡ ቅዱስ፡ በዘኢየሱስ 21  
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 ሀበ፤ ብርሃን፡ ሐዲስ፡ ወአብርህ፡ አዕይንት፡ ልብ፤ ወአስስል፡ ዕቅፍት፡ እም 22  
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 13 ro. ፈቅድ፡ በሰላም፡ ንብጻሕ፡ ሀበ፤ ሃይማኖት፡ ርትዕት፡ ወጸሎት፡ ቅዱስ፡ 23  
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 እምነፍሱ፡ ይኩን፡ ፈውሰ፡ ለድሉ፡ ድውደን፡ ወሕሙማን፡ ወባርክ፡  
 ፍሬ፡ ውሉይ፡ ዘርእ፤ ለትውልድ፤ እስክ፡ ሰፃሎም፡ አሚን፡ ሀበ፤ ወ 24  
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 ልዑል፡ ወንብ፡ ጽርሐ፡ ቅድሳት፡ ስብሐቲክ፡ ዘንት፡ ዘሰልል፤ ነፍሱ፡ ወ

<sup>1</sup> MS. ፀር፤ and "ተ፤<sup>2</sup> Corrected from ቅትሰተ.<sup>3</sup> MS. ሰ.<sup>4</sup> The original reading has been made illegible by an indistinct correction.<sup>5</sup> C sec. man.



- ጸሐይ፤ ንቤክ፤ ኢይግላ፤ ዕራቁ፤ ስእለት፤ ፍጡን፤ ተራድክ፤ ሮም፤ በ  
 ዛቲ፤ ዕለት። ሀብ፤ ሃይማኖት፤ ርትዕት፤ ክብረ፤ ወብዕለ፤ ወምገሰ፤ ፍጹ 25  
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 13 vo. ወከማሁ፤ አዘንም፤ ወከፃው፤ | ወስተ፤ ገጽ፤ ሞገሰ፤ ላዕሌ፤ ወይክኒ፤  
 ልብሰ፤ ድርፃ፤ ወወልታ፤ መድኃኒት፤ ከመ፤ ደርሆ፤ እንተ፤ ትክድን፤ ወ  
 ተሐቅፍ፤ እገሊሃ፤ ታሐተ፤ ክፍሃ። ከማሁ፤ ሕቅፈኒ፤ ወሰውረኒ፤ በጸላሎ  
 ተ፤ ክፍሃ፤ በወልታ፤ መድኃኒት፤ ወበየማን፤ እዴክ፤ ቅዱስ፤ ወበኃይል  
 ከ፤ ጽዕ፤ አጽንዓ፤ እምቁሉ፤ መቅወፍትክ፤ ወመፃትክ፤ ወአውፀኢ፤ በ  
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 ብእሲት፤ ወኪየሂ፤ ከመ፤ ያእምኑ፤ ወከመ፤ ብ፤ ሃይማኖት፤ ርትዕት፤  
 ከመ፤ ዘበአማን፤ አርድእቲክ፤ ንሕ፤ ወከመ፤ አንተ፤ ፈጠርክ፤ ወለሐኩን፤  
 14 ro. ዘበአማን፤ ከመ፤ አልቦ፤ ላዕድ፤ አምላክ፤ ዘእንበሐክ፤ በሰማይ፤ በላዕሉ፤  
 ወበምድር፤ በታሕቶ። ለክ፤ ይደሉ፤ ስብሐት፤ ወአኩቲት፤ ለፃለመ፤  
 ፃለም፤ አሚን። ወእምድኅረ፤ ፈጸሙ፤ ጸሎተሙ፤ ወስእለተሙ፤ ለምዖ 28  
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 ልቦሙ፤ [ለ] ገደፍአርድእት፤ ወፍሕዋ፤ መንፈሱ፤ ወስተ፤ እዘና፤ ወሐ  
 ጸብዋ፤ በማየ፤ ጸሎት፤ ለይእቲ፤ ወሐይወት። ወተንሥእት፤ ለቤሃ፤ ሰገ 29  
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 ን፤ በጸሎት፤ ገደፍአርድእት፤ ወከመዝ፤ ፈውስዋ፤ ለዛቲ፤ ብእሲት። ወ 30  
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 ድሮ፤ አጋንንተ፤ እምላዕለ፤ ገብርክ፤ // ወርእዮሙ፤ ከመ፤ 31  
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 14 vo. መንፈቆሙ፤ | እለ፤ ኢየአምኑ፤ ጠፍሑ፤ ወተሠዐሩ፤ እስከ፤ ለፃለመ፤ ፃለ  
 ም፤ አሚን። ወእለሰ፤ አምኑ፤ ድኅኑ፤ እምቁሉ፤ ሕማም፤ ወምንጸቤሃ፤  
 ለነፍሱሙ፤ በዘንቶ፤ አስማተ፤ ክርስቲስ። ከማሁ፤ አድኅኒ፤ ወባልሐኒ፤ እ 32  
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 ር፤ ለፃለም፤ አሚን። ከማሁ፤ ኢታስኃፍረኒ፤ ሲተ፤ ለገብርክ፤ // 34  
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 ሎ፤ ኃይለ፤ ጸላኤ፤ ወኢይልክ፤ ድሮ፤ ሕማም፤ ወድካም፤ ላዕለ፤ ነፍ  
 ሱ፤ ወሥጋሁ፤ ለገብርክ፤ // ወከማሁ፤ እግዚአ፤ አድኅኒ፤ በኃ  
 ይለ፤ ዘንቶ፤ አስማቲክ፤ | ወበጸሎት፤ ቅዱሳን፤ አርድእቲክ፤ ዐቀብ፤ ነፍስ 37  
 የ፤ ወሥጋየ፤ ለገብርክ፤ // ወሚምዖ፤ ለቂርስ፤ ላዕለ፤ ድሮ  
 ሙ፤ ወለገገሥት፤ ወአውረስዖ፤ ምድርሙ፤ በምንት፤ (ወ)በጸሎት፤  
 15 ro. ገደፍአርድእት። ወተባህሉ፤ ሕዝብ፤ ርእዮ፤ ወአንክሩ፤ ወተአመኑ፤ በ 38

1 MS. "ገ።

2 The 0 is blotted and indistinct.

- 15 vo. 39  
 ሰማኤል፡ ወሰክርስቲስ፡ ዘአጽኅ፡ ጸሎተ፡ ሰማኤል፡ ወሰክርስቲስ፡ ይኩብር፡ ወይትሉዓል፡ መንበሩ፡ ወይድሳ፡ እመንሱት፡ ወያገርር፡ ኃይ  
 ለ፡ ዙሉ፡ ፀሩ፡ ወጸላኦቹ፡ ከማሁ፡ አድኅዚ፡ እግዚእ፡ እመንሱት፡ ባር  
 ክዚ፡ ወዕቀባዚ፡ ወተማኅ፡ ለተ፡ ለገብርክ፡ ሰማኤል፡ ወሰክርስቲስ፡ ወያገርር፡ ኃይ  
 እትዩ፡ ወቀጥቅጥ፡ ታሕተ፡ መክየይ፡ እገርዩ፡ ለገብርክ፡ ሰማኤል፡ ወሰክርስቲስ፡ ወያገርር፡ ኃይ  
 ለገብርክ፡ ሰማኤል፡ ወሰክርስቲስ፡ ወያገርር፡ ኃይ  
 ፀ፡ ንባር፡ ወናልዕሎም፡ ለእሱንቹ፡ አርድእቹ፡ ለክርስቲስ፡ ወናጥፍ  
 እ፡ አማልክቲሁ፡ ወናው፡ በእሳት፡ ወኢናምልክ፡ ባዕዳ፡ አማልክት፡  
 ዘእንበሌህም፡ ወንእመን፡ በጸሎተሙ፡ ከመ፡ ንድጋን፡ እምክሉ፡ መቐ  
 ሠፍተ፡ መግቹ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ዘይደድድ፡ ወይትከወስ፡ እምነበልባለ፡  
 እሳት፡ ወአስተጋብሩ፡ አማልክቲሁም፡ ወአውገዩ፡ በእሳት፡ ወኃልቁ፡  
 ዙሉ፡ አማልክቲሁም፡ ወአልቦ፡ ዘተርፈ፡ እምወስቴተሙ፡ ከማሁ፡  
 አሕልቆም፡ እግዚእ፡ ለክሉም፡ አጋንነት፡ ወመናፍቅት፡ ርኩሳን፡ እለ፡ ይ  
 በልፀ፡ ሥጋ፡ ወይሰትዩ፡ ደመ፡ ወይቀጠቅጡ፡ እዕፀምተ፡ ወይስሕቹ፡  
 ውሉደ፡ ሰብእ፡ ስድይም፡ እግዚእ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዘንቹ፡ አስማቲክ፡ ወበጸ  
 ሎተ፡ ቅዱሳን፡ አርድእቲክ፡ እምባዕለ፡ ገብርክ፡ ሰማኤል፡ ወሰክርስቲስ፡ ወያገርር፡ ኃይ  
 16 ro. 43  
 ደሙ፡ ነባ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ ወድኅኑ፡ ብጸሎተ፡ ሰማኤል፡ ወሰክርስቲስ፡  
 ት፡ ወኮኑ፡ ኔሬተ፡ ወመሐርደነ፡ ወተባረኩ፡ ትውልደሙ፡ እስከ፡ ለገብርክ፡  
 ኃላም፡ አሚን፡ ወከማሁ፡ ባርክዚ፡ እግዚእ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዘንቹ፡ አስማቲክ፡  
 ወበጸሎተ፡ ሰማኤል፡ ወሰክርስቲስ፡ ወያገርር፡ ኃይ  
 ሰማኤል፡ ወሰክርስቲስ፡ ወያገርር፡ ኃይ  
 ወእምዘ፡ ተንሥኡ፡ ወራሩ፡ ሰማኤል፡ ወሰክርስቲስ፡ እ[ም]ድኅረ፡ ፈወሱ፡ ዙ  
 ሎ፡ ድውደነ፡ ወሐመማነ፡ ወይቤሉ፡ እሱንቹ፡ አርድእቹ፡ ንፀ፡ ንሑ  
 ር፡ ሀገረ፡ ሰይም፡ ወገጥሬ፡ ንነግሮም፡ ወነአዘዘም፡ ወኢንፍራህ፡ ጥ  
 ተ፡ ዘበም[ድ]ር፡ በእነተ፡ ስመ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ ወእግዚአብሔርሰ፡ ሀ  
 ሎ፡ ምስሌነ፡ ወአልቦ፡ ዘይክለነ፡ ኪዳነ፡ በዘንቹ፡ ስመ፡ ለመድኃኒ፡ ወ  
 16 vo. 3  
 ሀላዉ፡ እመንቹ፡ እለ፡ አምዕፀዎ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ በእክዩ፡ ምግባሮ  
 ሙ፡ ወእለ፡ አርኩሉ፡ ነፍሱም፡ በብዝሃ፡ ኃጢአተሙ፡ ወእለ፡ ረሰዩ፡  
 ነፍሱም፡ ከመ፡ እንስሳ፡ ንፀ፡ ናብብ፡ ልባ፡ ወኢንፍራህ፡ ኪደህም፡  
 ወንገሥጸም፡ በርቶ፡ ቃል፡ ወበጸሐ፡ ሀገር፡ ሰይም፡ ወገጥሬ፡ ወሰባ  
 ኩ፡ ወመሀሩ፡ ወይቤልም፡ እመኑ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ ዘውእ  
 ቹ፡ ፈጣሪክም፡ ወንሐነሰ፡ እመኒ፡ ጥነ፡ በእነተ፡ ስመ፡ ለክርስቲስ፡  
 ኃላዩ፡ ዕሚተ፡ በሰማያት፡ ወንረክብ፡ ረባሕ፡ ንሥእ፡ ጸጋ፡ ኃሰባ፡ ወሐ  
 ደወተ፡ በኃይሁ፡ ወእመ፡ ኃላዩክም፡ ሰሚ፡ ነገረነ፡ ወትእዛዘነ፡ ሀሎ፡  
 እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ፡ ወእቹ፡ ይኩንክም፡ ወሰእመሰ፡ ለማዕከ  
 ሙ፡ ቃለ[ነ፡ ወ]ትእዛዘነ፡ ይትኃይግ፡ ሰክም፡ ኃጢአተክም፡ ወያገርር፡  
 17 ro. 6  
 እግዚአብሔር፡ መግቱ፡ እምነክም፡ ወሰእመሰ፡ ተንሳሕክም፡ ወኃላ  
 እክም፡ ነቤሁ፡ ኢታምልኩ፡ ባዕዳ፡ አማልክት፡ እስመ፡ አማልክትሰ፡ አል  
 ቦ፡ ዘደድኅክም፡ ኢትሐሩ፡ ነባ፡ ብእሲተ፡ ብእሲ፡ ወኢትቅትሉ፡ ነፍሰ፡  
7

- ቢጽክም፡ ከመ፡ አይቅተልክም፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ ለዘክ፤ ገሃነመ፡ እሳት።  
 ናሁ፡ ቀርባ፡ ወበጽሐ፡ ጎልቀትክም፡ ወትከውን፡ ረኃብ፡ ወብድብድ፡ ት 8  
 ጠፍቦ፡ ወትማስን፡ ወትከውን፡ ከመ፡ ዘኢተፈጥረት፡ ብሔርክም። ወዘ 9  
 ንተ፡ ሶባ፡ ይኡዝዝም፡ ፀወጃኦርድእት፡ ተምፀፀ፡ ወኡባዱ፡ ሶባሃ፡  
 ወጸረፉ፡ ብዙኃ፡ ጽርፈታተ፡ ባዕሊሆም፡ ወኡዝዝም፡ ለፀወጃኦርድእት፡  
 ወይቤልም፡ ለምንት፡ ዘኢነኦምር፡ ትእዛዘ፡ ተአዘዘ፡ አንትም። 10  
 ናሁ፡ ንቀትላክም፡ ንሐነ፡ እስኩ፡ ንርአይ፡ ዘይድዝክም፡ ዮም፡ እምእ 11  
 17 vo. ደነ፡ ለሊክም፡ ዘርእስክም፡ ትንፅዱ፡ እንዘ፡ አልብክም፡ | ረዳኢ። ወካ 11  
 ፅባ፡ ይቤልም፡ ፀወጃ ኦርድእት፡ እስመ፡ ጥሱዓን፡ ንሐነሰ፡ በሃይማኖት፡  
 ርትዕት። ወጽኦዓን፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ኢንፈርህ፡ ኪያክም፡ ንሐነ፡ ወኢ 12  
 ትክሉ፡ ቀቲለ፡ ኪያ፡ ሀሎ[ ] እግዚአብሔር፡ ዘይረድኸ፡ ወዘይድዝክ፡  
 እምእደክም፡ ዮም፡ ወአንትም፡ ዘአልብክም፡ ኃይል፡ ወጽንፅ። እ 12  
 ስመ፡ ርኩሳን፡ ወርገማን፡ አንትም፡ በኃጢአት፡ በሥጋ፡ ዘአልቦ፡ ነፍስ፡  
 አንትም፡ ወአሠርም፡ እደቁሆም፡ ወእገሪሆም። ወወረደ፡ ወመጽአ፡ 13  
 መልእክ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ እምሰማይ፡ ኀብ፡ ፀወጃ ኦርድእት፡ ጊዜ፡ መን 13  
 ፈቀ፡ ሌሊት። ወይቤሎም፡ ኢትፍርህ፡ ሕዋርያተ፡ አግብርተ፡ እግዚአብ 14  
 ሔር፡ ጎሩያን፡ ወጽኦዓን፡ በመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ። ወሰገዱ፡ ሶባሃ፡ በብረኪ 14  
 ሆም። ወሶባሃ፡ ጸላዩ፡ ወሰኦሉ፡ ወጸውፀ፡ ዘንተ፡ አስማተ፡ እግዚአብሔር 15  
 18 vo. ር፡ ፈትሐ፡ መዋቅሮቹሆም፡ ሶባሃ፡ ወበርሃ፡ ገጸም፡ እምፀሐይ፡ ወወርኅ፡  
 በቅድመ፡ ዙሉ፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ፀወጃ ኦርድእት፡ ርአዩኬ፡ ከመ፡ አድዝክ፡ 15  
 እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክነ፡ ወተፈትሐ፡ መዋቅሮቹ፡ በኃይለ፡ አምላክነ።  
 ወሰባ፡ ርአይም፡ ከመ፡ ተፈትሐ፡ መዋቅሮቹሆም፡ ወኢአምኑ፡ ዙሉ 16  
 ሙ፡ እንበለ፡ ጸ ዘስመ፡ ሎጥ፡ ወካዕባ፡ ይቤልም፡ ለፀወጃኦርድእት።  
 ናሁ፡ ንወድዩክም፡ ወስተ፡ እተነ፡ እሳት፡ ወእስኩ፡ ንርአይ፡ ዘይወፀኦክ 17  
 ሙ፡ እምዘንቹ፡ እሳት። ወካዕባ፡ ይቤልም፡ እሎንቹ፡ ኦርድእት፡ እ 18  
 ሳትሰ፡ ይከውን፡ ከመ፡ ማይ፡ ቁሪር፡ በፈቃደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላክ 18  
 ነ። ወማይኒ፡ ይከውን፡ እሳት፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ፈቃደ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ አምላ 19  
 18 vo. ክነ፡ አልቦ፡ ዘይሰክፈነ፡ ወይገስሰነ፡ እሳት፡ ኪያ። ወይቤሎም፡ ሎ 19  
 ጥ፡ ለኡሎም፡ ሕዝብ፡ ኢትግባሩ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ፡ ወከመዝ፡ ኢትጽርፉ፡  
 ባዕሊሆም፡ ንፀ፡ ንፀ፡ ንስማዕ፡ ነገሮም፡ ወንፅቀብ፡ ትእዛዝም። እስ 20  
 መ፡ በአማን፡ ኦርድእት፡ ርቹዓ፡ ሃይማኖት፡ ውእትም፡ አንሰ፡ እትአመ 20  
 ን፡ በጸሎትም፡ ወኢየሐውር፡ በገቢርክም፡ ወኢይተሉ፡ አሠረ፡ ዘኢክ 21  
 ሙ። ወሰባ፡ ይሰምፀ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገሮ፡ ለሎጥ፡ ወትምፀ፡ ዙሉም፡ ሕዝብ። 21  
 ወይቤልም፡ አንተሰ፡ እምከመ፡ ተአመንከ፡ ኪያሆም፡ እስኩ፡ ንርአይ፡ ከ 22  
 መ፡ ደድዝኩዝ ዘርእሶም፡ አይክሉ፡ አድዓ። ወአጥብአ፡ ልቦ፡ ሎ 22  
 ጥ፡ ሶባሃ፡ ወኃብረ፡ ምስሰ፡ ፀወጃ ኦርድእት፡ ወአንደዱ፡ ምስብዓተ፡ ግ 23  
 ባ፡ እሳት፡ ሶባሃ። ወይቤልም፡ ኦርድእት፡ ለሎጥ፡ ኢትፍራህ፡ ወኢትደ 23

<sup>1</sup> MS. ላ. <sup>2</sup> ኢትግባሩ፡—ወከመዝ repeated in MS. (dittography).

<sup>3</sup> MS. አንትም.

<sup>4</sup> MS. originally "ከመ".



- ሉት፡ ሆወ፤ አር.ድእት፡ ሊት፡ ለገብርክ፡ ለመሐረ፤ ወተግ 38  
 ሃላ፤ ወኢትርጋቅ፡ እምነ፤ ዙሉ፡ ጊዜ፡ እምላኪ፤ አንት፡ እግዚእ፤
- 21 ro. ሕቀፊ፤ በየማ፤ እደክ፡ ጽዕ፡ አጽገዓ፤ ለት፡ ለገብርክ፡ ለመሐረ፤ ወተግ 1  
 ወዘንት፡ እምድጋ፡ አስተርአዩ፡ ሆወ፤ አር.ድእት፡ ሉት፡ ወስት፡ ዙሉ፡ አህጉር፡ ወተራከሱ፡ በወስት፡ ፍጥት፡ ነበ፡ ተጋብሱ፡ ቋወ፤ የገሥት፡  
 ወሂ፤ አህጉር፡ እንዘ፡ ደሰግዱ፡ ለአማልክት፡ ባዕዳን፡ ወበጽሐ፡ ሆወ፤ አር.ድእት፡ ወይቤሉ፡ በስመ፡ አብ፡ ወወልድ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ጌአ  
 ምላክ፡ ኩ፡ ጥራ፡ ወተጋፍሩ፡ ዙሉ፡ እለ፡ ምልክት፡ ለአማልክት፡ ባዕዳን፡ ወእለ፡ ተአመንክሙ፡ በስመ፡ እምላክ፡ ትድጋ፡ በዘ  
 ንቱ፡ አስማት፡ ክርስትስ፡ ወዘንት፡ ሶበ፡ ይቤሉ፡ ሆወ፤ አር.ድእት፡ ወተጋብሱ፡ ቋወ፤ ላዕለ፡ ሆወ፤ አር.ድእት፡ ወፈቀዱ፡ ይቅትልሙ፡ ወጸለዩ፡  
 አር.ድእት፡ ሶበ፡ አንሢሙ፡ አዕይነህሙ፡ ወአልጌሎሙ፡ ሕሊናህሙ፡ ወሰፊህሙ፡ እይዋህሙ፡ ወስት፡ ሰማይ፡ ወይቤሉ፡ በጌሕለ፡ ኃሊ  
 21 vo. ሮሙ፡ [አ] ለእሉ፡ ሰብሐ፡ ወዘምሩ፡ ወይቤሉ፡ ሱትክ፡ አንት፡ እግዚ 5  
 አ፡ እምላክ፡ እኩት፡ ወስሱሕ፡ ስምክ፡ ለገሰም፡ እስመ፡ ንሕነሰ፡ አግ  
 ብርቲክ፡ ለእለ፡ ንዴው፡ ስመክ፡ ወትረ፡ ሕደው፡ ወይእኩ፡ ስምዓ፡ እግዚአ፡ ስእለት፡ ልብ፡ ወኢትረስዩ፡ ስላት፡ ጸላኤ፡ አድነዝ፡ በኃይ  
 ለ፡ ዘንቱ፡ አስማቲክ፡ እምዘንቱ፡ ሕዝብ፡ ወገሥት፡ ወመኳንንት፡ ወእኩዩ፡ ምግባር፡ አስተጋፍሮሙ፡ በቅድሚ፡ ወበድጋ፡ ወአድክም፡  
 ኃይሎሙ፡ ከመ፡ ሣዕረ፡ አንጎስት፡ ወአርዘር፡ ምክሮሙ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይክ  
 ሀሉ፡ ኪዩ፡ መዋሕት፡ አሚን፡ አድነዝ፡ እግዚአ፡ እምላክ፡ በኃይ  
 ለ፡ ዘንቱ፡ አስማቲክ፡ እምዘሉ፡ እኩይ፡ ሰብእ፡ ወልሕዋን፡ እለ፡ ይቀትሉ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዘንቱ፡ አስማቲክ፡ አሚን፡ አድነዝ፡ እግዚአ፡ እምላ  
 22 ro. ክ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዘንቱ፡ አስማቲክ፡ እምዘሉ፡ እኩይ፡ ወጋዜ፡ ቀትር፡ ወድድቅ፡ (ወጋዜ፡ ቀትር፡) በመፃልት፡ ወበሌሊት፡ ስይይሙ፡ ወአርጎቅ  
 ሙ፡ ከመ፡ ኢይ፡ ወይትጋፈሩ፡ በጸጋ፡ ኂትክ፡ አሚን፡ አድነዝ፡ እግዚአ፡ እምላክ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዘንቱ፡ አስማቲክ፡ እምዘሉ፡ ሰብ  
 እ፡ መኳርዩ፡ ወገፋዕዩ፡ ወተገጋልዩ፡ ቀጥቅጥ፡ ኃይሎሙ፡ ወዘርዘር፡ ምክሮሙ፡ ወአጥፍዕ፡ ሕሊናህሙ፡ አሚን፡ አድነዝ፡ እግዚአ፡ እምላክ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዘንቱ፡ አስማቲክ፡ እምዘሉ፡ ደይነ፡ ወደኃሥር፡ ነፍ  
 ሰ፡ ወሥጋ፡ ወአርዋ፡ ምድር፡ ወካይሰ፡ ዘይድፍ፡ ወይነስክ፡ በስነ፡ ወበልሳ፡ ወይሕንጥብ፡ በጽፍሩ፡ ስድድ፡ ወአገሥ፡ እምነ፡ አሚን፡ አድነዝ፡ እግዚአ፡ እምላክ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዘንቱ፡ አስማቲክ፡ እምዘሉ፡ ፃቃ  
 22 vo. ብዩ፡ ሥራይ፡ እለ፡ ደስተዕል፡ ነፍሰ፡ ወእለ፡ ደገብ፡ ፈውስ፡ በማዕስ፡ ወበመተር፡ በሐፍ፡ ወበጽፍረ፡ ዕድ፡ ወበጸጉረ፡ ርእስ፡ ወበጽፍረ፡ እግር፡ ወበጸጉረ፡ አዕይነቲ፡ ወበጸጉረ፡ ልብስ፡ ወበጸጉረ፡ ዕጣቱ፡ ወጎስ፡ ንበልዕ፡ ወንሰቲ፡ እምወስት፡ ዙሉ፡ ነፍስ፡ ወሥጋ፡ አርዘስ፡ ፈውስ፡ ወሕትት፡ ኃይሎሙ፡ ከመ፡ ሐመድ፡ ወይኩ፡ ከ

<sup>1</sup> ነበ was rubbed out here. <sup>2</sup> MS. ኩ. <sup>3</sup> MS. ደ. <sup>4</sup> MS. ወበጸጉረ.



- መ፡ ማይ፡ ቁፊር፡ ወከመ፡ አረር፡ ልምሉም፡ ከመ፡ አይከህሉ፡ ድሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ መዊዖተ፡ አሚን፡፡ አድሃዝ፡ እግዚእ፡ አምላክ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዝን 12  
ቸ፡ አስማቲክ፡ እምድሉ፡ መቅሠፍተ፡ መፃተክ፡ ወነገረ፡ ቅስት፡ ወእ  
ለ፡ ይትዋቀሡ፡ ይኩኑ፡ በቁራ፡ በኃለ፡ ድሉ፡ ሰብእ፡፡ ወእለ፡ ይት  
መፃዕነ፡ ደውርድ፡ ሎሙ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ መቅሠፍተ፡ መፃቸ፡ ሳባህ 13  
23 ro. ሙ፡ አሚን፡፡ አድሃዝ፡ እግዚእ፡ አምላክ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዝንቸ፡ አስማቲ 13  
ክ፡ እምፀብ፡ ሰይጣን፡ እምፍትወት፡ ዘይስሐቸ፡ እምነ፡ ድሉ፡ መነገረ፡  
ጥት፡ ወአስተኃፍ፡ ለሰይጣን፡ ይጉይይ፡ ወይትኃፈር፡ ወኢይቅረብ፡ ኃፍ  
፤ ወይትቀጥቀጥ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ወይዘረው፡ ከመ፡ ሐመድ፡ ምክሩ፡ አሚን፡፡  
አድሃዝ፡ እግዚእ፡ አምላክ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዝንቸ፡ አስማቲክ፡ እምድሉ፡ ሰብ 14  
እ፡ መካርያን፡ ወመስተዋድያን፡ በነገር፡ ወበልሳን፡ ወዘርዘር፡ ምክሮ  
ሙ፡ ወምትር፡ ልሳኖሙ፡ በመጥባሕት፡ አሚን፡፡ አድሃዝ፡ እግዚእ፡ 15  
አምላክ፡ በዝንቸ፡ አስማቲክ፡ እምሳፍጥ፡ መዋዕል፡ እምዕለት፡ እኩት፡  
ወእምሰፃተ፡ መንሱት፡ ዕቀቢ፡ ወተማፃፀዚ፡ ነፍስየ፡ ወሥጋየ፡ ወአን  
በረዚ፡ በዳፋ፡ ወበሰላም፡ ሊተ፡ ለገብርክ፡ ለአድሃዝ፡ 16  
23 vo. እግዚእ፡ አምላክ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዝንቸ፡ አስማቲክ፡ እምድሉ፡ ፀረ፡ ለእ 17  
ለ፡ ይቀትሉ፡ ነፍሱ፡ ይሰበር፡ ኃይሎሙ፡ ወይትቀጥቀጥ፡ ወልታሆሙ፡  
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እሳት፡ ንርኩብ፡ ሃህለ፡ ወምሕረት፡ በቅድሚክ፡ ወኢትኃፈር፡ በነ  
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ፍሱ)፡፡ ወፍጡ፡ ፈውሶ፡ በጸጋ፡ ኒሩትክ፡ ለገብርክ፡ ለአድሃዝ፡ 19  
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24 ro. ለአድሃዝ፡ እግዚእ፡ አምላክ፡ በኃይለ፡ ዝንቸ፡ አስማቲክ፡ እምቅሠፍት፡ ለእገርየ፡ ወእምአንብዕ፡ ለአዕይነት፡ አርትዕ፡  
እገሪ፡ ውስተ፡ ፍጥ፡ ሰላም፡ ወአብርህ፡ አዕይነት፡ ልብ፡ ወምርሐ፡፡  
ወሴስየ፡ በሠናይ፡፡ ሀብ፡ እግዚእ፡ አእምሮ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ኃዘን፡ [ወ]እእ  
ምሮ፡ (ወ)ዘእንበለ፡ ነፋቂ፡፡ ወምላዕ፡ ውስተ፡ ልብ፡ ትፍሥሕተ፡ ወሐ  
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ሕይወተ፡ ሊታሕጉሊ፡ ሊተ፡ ለገብርክ፡ ለአድሃዝ፡ ዘንተ፡ 25, 26  
24 vo. ድሉ፡ ዘበብ፡ በአፋ፡ ወሰኦል፡ ወኢትረስየ፡ ከመ፡ ካልኦ፡ ሕዝብ፡፡  
አሳ፡ አፍቅረ፡ እምድሉ፡ ፍጥረተ፡ እገለ፡ እመሕይው፡ ባርክ፡ ወተማ

<sup>1</sup> MS. ፈ.

<sup>2</sup> MS. ዉ.

<sup>3</sup> MS. ቅ.

<sup>4</sup> MS. ቀ.

<sup>5</sup> MS. ክ.

- ሆለ፤ ፅቀብ፤ ወተማጎፀዘ፤ ወአጽጎዘ፤ ዘአጽፍዕከ፤ ለሰማይ፤ ዘእንበለ፤  
 ዓምድ፤ ወሰምድር፤ ደባ፤ ማይ፤ ከማህ፤ አጽጎዘ፤ እግዚአብሔር፤ ሊተ፤ 27  
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 ጎዘ፤ እምዙሉ፤ እኩይ፤ ዘበምድር፤ ወእምዙሉ፤ እኩይ፤ ዙዜ፤ ዘበሰ-  
 ማይተ፤ ፅቀብ፤ ወተማጎፀዘ፤ እምዘ፤ ዳግመ፤ ከመ፤ ሊይክህሉ፤ ዙሉ፤  
 ሰብእ፤ እኩይ፤ ለገብርክ፤ /////////////// ዘይነሱ፤ በኦፋሆሙ፤ ወ 29,30  
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 ት፤ ወእምዘነቱ፤ ዙሉ፤ ሕድጎዘ፤ በኃይለ፤ ዝነቱ፤ አስማቲክ፤ ወበጽጎዓ፤  
 መንበርክ፤ ወበልዑል፤ ማጎይርክ፤ ወበስብሐተ፤ መንገድ፤ ዘኢ-  
 ደትነሠት፤ ምሉዕ፤ ወምጡቅ፤ ዘኢየሐልቅ፤ ኒፋትክ፤ ሕድጎዘ፤ 31  
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 ወ(በ)ምሕረትክ፤ ላዕሊየ፤ ሊተ፤ ለገብርክ፤ /////////////// አሚን፤ ሌትር 32  
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 ራድክ፤ የም፤ በዛቲ፤ ዕለት፤ ይስተርእ፤ ኒፋትክ፤ በላዕሊየ፤ ወይኩን፤  
 ፈቃድክ፤ ወሥምረት፤ ዚክክ፤ ወንሐነሰ፤ ኢንክል፤ ፈጽሞተ፤ ለዝነቱ፤ የገር  
 ከ፤ ወለክሰ፤ ዙሉ፤ ይትፈጸም፤ በቃልክ፤ ወበትእዛዝክ፤ ፈጽም፤ ለ 33  
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 25 vo. ክብብ፤ ንቤክ፤ ይትፈጸም፤ ፍጡ፤ ተራድክ፤ የም፤ በዛቲ፤ ዕለት፤  
 ወከማህ፤ ስማዕ፤ ጸሎት፤ ዘበአልኩ፤ ንቤክ፤ አ፤ ገብርክ፤ /////////////// 34  
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 ንቤየ፤ ወአ፤ ኃረይኩክሙ፤ እምዙሉ፤ ፍጥረት፤ እኃለ፤ እመሐይወ፤ ንሥ-  
 ሉ፤ ወሀብኩክሙ፤ ጸጋ፤ ምሉዓ፤ እምጠለ፤ ሰማይ፤ ወእምስፍሐ፤ ለም-  
 ድር፤ ፈድፋድ፤ ኪዩክሙ፤ አፍቀርኩ፤ ወሠመርኩ፤ ይእከ፤ ንገሩ፤ 38  
 26 ro. ወአስምዑ፤ ለዙሉ፤ ፍጥረት፤ ዘኪዩክሙ፤ አምነ፤ ኪዩየ፤ | አምነ፤ ወበጸሎ-  
 ትክሙ፤ ይድጎን፤ ወዘኪዩክሙ፤ ዘኢአምነ፤ ናሁ፤ ትሬእዩ፤ የም፤ ከመ፤  
 አ፤ እቀሥፎሙ፤ በመፃት፤ ወእዘርዎሙ፤ ከመ፤ ሐመድ፤ በምድር፤ እ-  
 ስመ፤ ለመፃት፤ ኢይክሉ፤ ጸዊረ፤ ሰማይተ፤ ወምድር፤ ዙሉ፤ ፍጥረት፤  
 ይፈርሁ፤ ወይርዕዱ፤ ወይይገገዑ፤ ወዘነተ፤ ሰሚሎሙ፤ እላነቱ፤ አር 39  
 ድእት፤ እእኩትም፤ ለእግዚአብሔር፤ ወሰብሐም፤ ለአምላኩሙ፤ ወይቤል-  
 ምሙ፤ ለዙሉሙ፤ አሐዛብ፤ አንተሙ፤ አበይክሙ፤ ሰሚዓ፤ የገር፤ ወት-  
 እዛዘ፤ ወሶሴሃ፤ ይገገዑ፤ ወተሀውኩ፤ በፍርሃት፤ ውስተ፤ ልሰሙ፤ 40  
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 አ፤ ለነገረክሙ፡ ጎሱአ፡ ሰማይ፡ ይውዱ፡ ወምድር፡ ይከውን፡ እሳተ።  
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 30 ro. ማ[ሰ]ልኩ፡ ከማክሙ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ማርያም፡ እምዩ፡ እንተ፡ ያረተኒ፡ በ  
 ካርግ፡ ይሄውራጋ፡ ወሐቀፈተኒ፡ በእራጋ፡ ወአጥበወተኒ፡ ጥባ፡ ዘይጥ 17  
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 ጥመቀኒ፡ በፈለገ፡ የርዳዮስ፡ ወዘገሠሠኒ፡ ርእስየ፡ ለዘኢይትገሠሠ፡ ወለ 18  
 ዘኢይክል፡ ተገስሶ፡ ኒደ፡ እሳተ፡ ውእቱ፡ ዘአንዘ፡ በእዱ፡ ወዘእንበለ፡ 18  
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 ቀዊምዩ፡ ዘአውረድኩ፡ ሎቱ፡ በገዓ፡ ቤዛሁ፡ ሰይስሐቅ፡ ወልዱ፡ ወከሠ  
 ትኩ፡ ሎቱ፡ ጎሱአተ፡ ምሥጢረ። ዘእንበለ፡ ሙሴ፡ ነሲደ፡ ገብርዩ፡ ዘ 19  
 ተናገርክዎ፡ ቃለ፡ በቃል፡ ወወሀብክዎ፡ መገረራ፡ ፀር፡ ወሚምክዎ፡ ደባ፡ ደ  
 ቂቂ፡ ሸኤል፡ ጀወጃምት። ወተስእልዎ፡ አርዳኢሁ፡ ለኢየሱስ፡ እስከ፡ 20  
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 30 vo. ወይቤሎሙ፡ ንሥኡ። ይእኬሰ፡ ወሀብኩክሙ፡ ዘንተ፡ አስማትዩ፡ ዕቀ  
 ብዋ፡ ወአጽንዕዋ፡ ትድጎኡ፡ እምኃጢአት። ወዙሉ፡ ሰብእ፡ ዘአእመሮ 22  
 ሙ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ስምዩ፡ ይድጎን፡ ዘአነቃ፡ ወዘጸራ፡ ወዘዓቀባ፡ ወዘአን  
 በባ፡ ወዘ(ንተ)፡ ተሐፀበ፡ ወዘተረቅዩ፡ ተአምኖ፡ ይድጎን፡ እምብ 23  
 ዙጎ፡ ኃጢአት። ወጸሐፈ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ አስማቲሁ፡ በእደዊሁ፡ ቅድሳት።  
 ወወሀቦሙ፡ ለአርዳኢሁ። ወእንዘ፡ ይጎብሱ፡ ጎሱረ፡ ረከሱ፡ ጎሱአ፡ ስም፡  
 ወተፈሥሑ፡ ወአንፈርዓ። ወይቤሎ፡ እኩት፡ ወስሱሕ፡ ስምክ፡ ሰዓለ 24  
 ም። አንተ፡ እገዚአ፡ እምላኪዩ፡ ዘንተ፡ ዙሉ፡ ወሀብክ፡ ስመክ፡ ቅዱ  
 ሰ። ወጸው፡ ስም፡ ወይቤሎ። ራፎን፡ ራፎን፡ ራፎን። ራኮን፡ ራኮን፡ 24  
 ራኮን። ጳስ፡ ጳስ፡ ጳስ። አፍላሶ፡ አፍላሶ፡ አፍላሶ። መልዮአዮስ፡ መልዮአ  
 ዮስ። መልእዮስ፡ መልእዮስ፡ [ወልእዮስ።] እናኤል፡ እናኤል፡ እናኤል፡  
 ጽራኤል፡ ጽራኤል፡ ጽራኤል። ሕናኤል፡ ሕናኤል፡ ሕናኤል። ናሮስ፡ ናሮ 25  
 ስ፡ ናሮስ። ኮሮስ፡ ኮሮስ፡ ኮሮስ። ፍሎስ፡ ፍሎስ፡ ፍሎስ። ሊኖስ፡ ሊኖስ፡  
 ሊኖስ። ኒሮስ፡ ኒሮስ፡ ኒሮስ፡ ወእምዙሉ፡ ዘየዓቢ፡ ስምዩ፡ ብርሳብሐል 25  
 ዮስ። ወአልቦ፡ ዘየአምሮ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ስምዩ፡ ዘእንበለ፡ ሸ እንስሳ፡ ወእ 26  
 ንበለ፡ ሸወሸካህናተ፡ ሰማይ፡ ወዘእንበለ፡ ማርያም፡ እምዩ። ወይቤ  
 ሎሙ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ስምዩ፡ ትድጎኡ፡ ወይትኃይገ፡ ብክሙ፡ ኃጢአትክሙ፡ 26  
 ወበአምሳሊክሙ፡ ዘጸውዓ፡ ወዘአምነ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ ስምዩ፡ ይድጎን። ወኢየ  
 ኃፍር፡ በቅድመኒ፡ ወኢይራኤል፡ ጢሶ፡ ለደይን፡ ንጹሕ፡ ውእቱ፡ እምኃ  
 ጢአት፡ እምንእሱ፡ እስከ፡ ልህቂ፡ ዘገብረ፡ ይትኃይገ፡ ሎቱ፡ ኃጢአ 27  
 ቱ። ወይቤ፡ ኢየሱስ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ እምነ፡ ዙሉ፡ ዘተጽሐፈ፡ ውስተ፡ 27  
 31 vo. መጻሕፍትዩ፡ አልቦ፡ [ዘ]የዓብዮ፡ ለዘንቱ፡ የገርዩ። ወእምነ፡ ዙሉ፡ ጸሎ  
 ታትዩ፡ የዓቢ፡ ዘንቱ፡ ጸሎት፡ ወበዘንቱ፡ ጸሎት፡ ዘተአመነ፡ አድጎኖ፡ ወአ  
 ምሕሮ፡ ወእሠሃሎ፡ አ፤ መሐልኩ፡ በመንበርዩ፡ ልዑል፡ መሐልኩ፡ 28

1 MS. ሲ.

2 MS. ቤዛሁ፡ በገዓ.

3 MS. "ሎ.

4 MS. "ከ.

- በማኅደር፣ ገጽ፡ መሐልኩ፡ በመከደ፡ እገር፣ መሐልኩ፡ በርእሳ፡ ለ  
 ማርያም፡ እም፣ በቅዱሳን፡ መላእክት፡ ላእካን። ወአ፣ ሌይሐሱ፡ 29  
 በቃል፣ ወሌይኤም፡ በጽድቅ፣ ወሌይረክስ፡ ኪዳን። ወበከመ፡ 30  
 አድኃኑመ፡ ለቅዱሳን፡ ስርዳሕ፡ ከማሆሙ፡ አድኃኑ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ በዘንቸ፡  
 በምክ፡ ቅዱስ፡ ሕጽበኒ፡ ወእንጽሐኒ፡ እምኃጢአት፣ ሊት፡ ለገብርክ፡  
 ///////////////፡ ወካዕበ፡ ይቤ፡ አየሱስ፡ ክርስቲስ፡ ብፁዕ፡ ዘአንበላ፡ 31  
 32 ro. ለዛ፡ መጽሐፍ፣ ወበጸሎት፡ ብፁዕ፡ ዘተሐጽበ፡ ወዘተሐመነ፡ በዛ፡  
 ጸሎት። ብፁዕ፡ ዘመኃ፡ ዘንቸ፡ እንዘ፡ ይኩብዋ፡ ለዛ፡ ጸሎት፡ 32  
 በዝግባ፡ ለዛ፡ ጸሎት፡ ኣጽንዕ፡ ኃይሉ፡ ከመ፡ ኩኩሕ፣ ወአግቅቦ፡  
 አ፣ በኃይል፣ ወበጽንዕ፣ ወአፈቅሮ፡ ከመ፡ አርድእት። ብፁዕ፡ ወ 33  
 እቸ፡ ዘፆራ፡ ወዘአቃ፡ ለዛ፡ ጸሎት፡ ሌይቀርብ፡ በንቤህ፡ ኩሉ፡ መ  
 ናፍስት፡ ርኩሳን፡ ወአልቦ፡ ዘይክል፡ ገሲሰ፡ ሥጋሁ፡ ወነፍሱ፣ ወኃበ፡ 34  
 ሀበወት፡ ዛ፡ መጽሐፍ፣ ሌይበውእ፡ ወስተ፡ ቤቸ፡ ሕማም፡ ወድካ  
 ም፡ ወረኃብ፡ ወሰይጣን፡ ይሰይድ፡ ወሌይቅረብ፡ ኃበ፡ ማኅደሩ፣ ወሠ  
 ራቂ፡ ሌይሥርቅ፡ ወጽልዐ፡ ሌይክል፡ ይይክም፡ ወያበርር፡ ኃይ  
 ሎ፡ ኩሉ፡ ፀሩ፡ ወጸላእቸ። ወይትባረክ፡ ቤቸ፡ ወውሉዱ፡ መላእክት 35  
 ኒ፡ ሌይርኃቅ፡ እምኔህ። ወትረ፡ ኃቡረ፡ በረክት፡ ነቢዮት፡ ወሐጥርዮት፡  
 32 vo. ይመልእ፡ ወስተ፡ | ቤቸ፡ ወመንፈስ፡ እግዚአብሔር፡ የርር፡ ባዕሉህ።  
 ወመንፈስ፡ ሰይጣን፡ ይርኃቅ፡ እምኔህ። ወአንተረ፡ ዘንተ፡ ጸሎት፡ እ 36  
 መ፡ ተሐመንክ፡ ኩሉ፡ ይትገበር፡ ለክ፡ በዘንቸ፡ ጸሎት። ወማየ፡ ጸሎት፡  
 ሌይትካው፡ ወስተ፡ ምድር፡ እስመ፡ ክቡር፡ ወቅዱስ፡ ወእቸ፡ ዘአም  
 ሳለ፡ ይሙ፡ ለክርስቲስ። መንጽሑ፡ ኃጢአት፡ ወመጽኃ[ኒ]ት፡ [ለ]ት 37  
 ፍሱ፡ ወሥጋሁ፡ ይጽፍ፡ ለገብርክ፡ /////////////// ወለእመሰ፡ ዘንተ፡ 38  
 አንበላክ፡ ለእመ፡ ተሐፀብክ፡ (በኃበ) ትረክብ፡ ሞገስ፡ ወፍቅረ፡ በኃ  
 በ፡ ኩሉ፣ አፈ፡ ፀራዊ፡ ወርግዘተ፡ ኩፍት፡ ትመውእ፡ ወኃገርር፡ ኃይለ፡  
 ኩሉ፡ ፀርክ፡ ወጸላእትክ፣ ወአልቦ፡ ዘይቀውም፡ ቅድሚክ፡ ኩሉ፡  
 ይፈርህ፡ ወይርዕድ፡ በቃልክ። ወሶበ፡ ይሬእዩ፡ ገጸክ፡ ይነፍጹ፡ ወ 39  
 33 ro. ይጉጉ፡ ወይጥፀሞሙ፡ ነገርክ፡ ለሰብእ፡ ዘመከሩ፡ እኩየ፡ በልሶሙ፡  
 ባዕሌክ። ወዘረ፡ ተኃየሉ፡ በኃይሉ፡ ሌይክህሉክ። እምዘንቸ፡ ኩሉ፡  
 ይድኅን፡ ይቤ፡ ለሊሁ፡ መድኅን፣ በከመ፡ ነብክ፡ በቃልክ፡ አድኅ 40  
 ኒ፡ ሊት፡ ለገብርክ /////////////// ሎቸ፡ ስብሐት፡ ወአኩቴት፡ ለዓለመ፡ ዓለ  
 ም፡ አጂን፡  
 ወዘንተ፡ ነገር፡ እምድኅረ፡ ነገሮሙ፡ አየሱስ፣ ወካዕበ፡ ተስእልዎ፡ አር 1  
 ዳኤህ፡ ወይቤልዎ፡ ናህ፡ ርኤነ፡ አርአይህ፡ ለይይን። ወይእከኒ፡ አርአየ<sup>10</sup>፡  
 አርአይህ፡ [ለዘንተ] ከመ፡ ነትፈግሕ፡ በጸጋ፡ ኒሩትክ። ወይቤሎ 2

<sup>1</sup> MS. ም.<sup>2</sup> MS. ብ.<sup>3</sup> MS. ያ.<sup>4</sup> MS. ያ.<sup>5</sup> ሌ rubbed out in MS.<sup>6</sup> MS. ቅ, caused by the ቅ of ይሥርቅ which is directly over it.<sup>7</sup> MS. "ሉ.<sup>8</sup> Add. sec. manu.<sup>9</sup> MS. ዕ.<sup>10</sup> MS. አርአየሂ.

- 33 vo. ሙ፡ ሊየሱስ፡ ለአርዳኤሁ፡ ተንሥኡ፡ ንሑር፡ አድደመ፤ ወበህየ፡ አርአኻክ  
 ሙ፡ ተአምረ፡ ወመንክረ፡ ወፀፀብ፡ ነገረ። ወሑሩ፡ ወበጽሑ፡ አድደመ፡ 3  
 ወርእዩ፡ ምድረ፡ ገነት፡ ፀዕዱት፡ እምነ፡ ፀሐይ፡ ወጥዑም፡ ዓናሁ፡ እም  
 ነ፡ ጽንሐሐ፡ ዕጣን፤ ብሐረ፡ ርኑቀ፡ እንዘ፡ ሀለወት፡ ይዓሩ፡ ዓናሃ።  
 4 ፈድፋድ፡ ይውኅዝ፡ ሐሰብ፡ ወመዓር፡ ከመ፡ ማይ፡ ወወይን፡ እንተ፡  
 ተከለ፡ ሥረዊሃ፡ እንተ፡ ምልእት፡ ምድረ፡ ወአፀፀቁሃ፡ ዘበጽሐ፡ እስከ፡  
 5 ፯ ሰማያት፡ አስካላሃ፤ ምልእት፡ በረከት፡ ዘአክሐልቅ፡ ወዘሊይነት፡ ወሰባ፡  
 ርእዩ፡ ተፈሥሑ፡ ዓቢየ፡ ፍሥሐ። ወይቤሉ፡ መንክረ፡ ወመድምመ፡  
 ዘኢርኢነ፡ ርኢነ፡ ዮም። እእግዚእነ፡ አሊቅነ፡ እሙን፡ ነገርከ። ወርቶፀ፡  
 6 ዙሉ፡ ፍናዊክ፡ ዘበአማን፡ ንጉሥ፡ አንተ፡ እግዚኦ። ወካፅባ፡ ይቤል  
 ም፡ ንግረነ፡ አሊቅነ፡ መኑ፡ ዘትሁቦሙ፡ ዘንተ፡ ነገረ። ወይቤሉሙ፡ 7  
 ዘአሁቦሙ፡ አነ፡ ዘንተ፡ ገነተ፡ ለእለ፡ ይገብሩ፡ ፈቃድ፡ ለአቡየ፡ ወለየጥሃ  
 ንዩ፡ እለ፡ አልቦሙ፡ ዓመ፡ እምልቦሙ። ወለእለ፡ ተአመኑ፡ ወዓቀሉ፡  
 8 ዘንተ፡ ስምየ፡ ወለክሙሂ፡ ንሥኡ፡ ወሁብኩክሙ፡ ይኩንክሙ፡ ምድረ፡  
 ርስት። አእኩትም፡ ወሰብሐም፡ ሶቤሃ፡ ወይቤልም፡ ዙሉሙ፡ ኅቢሮ  
 ሙ፡ አንሚልሙ፡ መዝሙረ፡ በዝንቱ፡ ስምክ፡ ፻፹ወ፯ ድውደነ፡ ፈወስነ፡  
 በዝንቱ፡ ስምክ፡ ፪፻ወ፱ አጋንነተ፡ ዘረውነ፡ በዝንቱ፡ ስምክ፡ ፹ወ፳፻፲፯  
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 ዓቢየ፡ ኃይለ፡ ገበርነ፡ በደባ፡ ምድር። አኩ፡ በኃይልነ፡ ዘገበርናሁ፡ አ  
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 ሚን።  
 ዛፒ፡ መጽሐፍ፡ ኢተጽሐፈት፡ በእደ፡ ሰብእ። አላ፡ ለሊሁ፡ መድኃ 12  
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1 MS. አ.

2 Sec. manu.

## CHAPTER I.

## INTRODUCTION.

1 In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, One God! [This is] the discourse concerning the 12 Disciples, as Jesus taught them by what they are to be saved from sin. 2 And to you also we shall tell, by what ye will be saved from every sin and from every evil thing and from the imprecation of men. 3 And by this be ye saved from every enemy and the poison of the serpent and from everything that has poison which kills soul and body; and from every disease and infirmity of the body and breaking of bones, and (by which they will be saved) from malediction and curse, and from all keepers of magic. 4 And by this thou [O Lord,] hast saved them from all power of the enemy; and [it is told in this book] that the [Disciples] conquered and subdued Satan and cast him out, lest he approach them, and that they shall be saved from  
2 vo every evil, from | calamity and from the demon of noontide. 5 And that they were saved from the chastisement of kings and princes (and by which they shall be saved); they cooled off their wrath like water. And by this all creatures feared them. 6 And by this they have found grace with all human creatures. And by this their throne has become honoured and exalted, and by this they were saved from the flame of fire. And by this their face shone like the sun before all people, heathen and Christians. 7 And [here is told] everything that has been done unto the 12 Disciples (and) by this, [namely] the names of Christ. 8 And everybody who believes and invokes, and reads [these names], by these names of Christ let him be saved from sin and from all bad and wicked and treacherous men, and from all  
3 ro. disease[s] of soul and body, and from all demons | and evil spirits. 9 And Satan shall be driven out, and he shall not approach him who keeps these words, nor touch his dwelling, but that man's power shall be strong as a rock and his voice shall be heard as the voice of a lion. 10 And his face shall shine like the sun, and he shall find grace with all people; and his throne shall be exalted, and his honor shall be greater than [that of] all men, and no creature on earth shall overcome [him], and all men shall fear and tremble before his face; he shall defeat and subdue the power of all his enemies and he shall be like the 12 Disciples.

## CHAPTER II.

## TEACHINGS OF CHRIST CONCERNING HIS NAME.

- 1 And Jesus rose amongst them, and He blessed them with the sign of the cross; Jesus spoke and said unto them: "Listen to me, to my word and my command; and I will give unto you all desire of your hearts, you my servants and you my friends and  
 3 vo. you | my heirs. 2 And I have selected you from all human creatures, and I have given you power that ye may raise the dead by the true faith, and heal all the sick by the Holy Ghost. 3 And make ye Satan as dry grass before the wind, and he shall be cast out by your prayer, and his power shall be broken, and he shall flee and be ashamed before you. 4 And I have not given to others what I have given to you, my truly beloved, you whose light shall not be extinguished forever, and whose joy shall not cease for generation and generation." 5 And the Disciples of Jesus Christ said unto him: "Truly hast thou spoken in thy word, O Lord, who hast said all this; for it will prevent us from being  
 4 ro. conquered by any man. If thou, O Lord, art with us | and if we believe in thee, give us, O Lord, that we may invoke thy holy and blessed name!" 6 And again Jesus Christ spoke to His Disciples and said unto them: "Be not afraid, but admonish all people. For there is nobody who can make you tremble or judge and kill you; if ye observe my word, I shall not be far from you at any time. 7 And I love you like myself, and I will rejoice you with my grace and kindness, and I will give you (all) life and salvation of your souls." 8 Thereupon He shewed unto them the mystery of the new world: He revealed unto them and told them his secret name. 9 [And He said:] "If ye can invoke this my name, ye shall be saved from sin, and from all power of the enemy. And he who invokes this my name like  
 4 vo. you, shall be saved and [not] be confounded | for ever and ever." 10 Thus save me, O Lord, me, thy servant [Gabra] Giorgis, be merciful and gracious unto me, [and] from all sin and from seduction of Satan and from all evil (and) preserve me, thy servant Gabra Giorgis. 11 And He ascended on a mountain with His Disciples, and a shining cloud came and covered them. And Jesus wrote His holy names and gave them to His Disciples and said unto them: "Take [what] I give you; and it shall bring' you grace and

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<sup>1</sup> Literally "be."



life and salvation." 12 And they took this book, sealed as it was, and said to Jesus: "But we can not open this book, O our Lord and Master; only thou canst open it." 13 Again Jesus said to His Disciples: "Thus they shall not be able to make  
 5 ro. you tremble or | to conquer you, any one who has power, either men, or the evil demons, who seduce mankind, because of the power of these my names. 14 But ye shall conquer all men, and ye shall destroy and subdue all power of the enemy and of the evil and unclean spirits. But your own power shall not weaken, because of *my* power and strength. And now, who among you has the power of faith, shall open this book." 15 And He laid His hand on Peter's head and blessed him and gave him [power] to open this book. And its treasures were opened and disclosed. 16 And when they saw that the book was opened, they rejoiced exceedingly. Thereupon they praised and lauded and blessed Jesus Christ's name and adored His  
 5 vo. throne, and marvelling | at this they prayed to Him. And they said among themselves: "To-day we have seen a wonderful miracle, the like we have not seen before."

17 And again Jesus Christ said unto His Disciples: "Take from this once more and keep this my word, and my speech, and do not corrupt it: know ye, I have spoken unto you, contemplate and learn and think that ye may be saved from temptation and sin. For great and honoured is this my speech and this my name." 18 And after that Jesus told them His names, and said unto them :

"*Īyāhē* means awful

*Sārāhē* means great

*Demāhēl* means strong

19 *Aqbādēr* means rich

*Abyātēr* means merciful

*Menyātēr* means chastiser

20 *Anāw'el* means forgiver

*Kenyā* means wise

*Geyōn* means rich

21 *Sēgā* means judge

*Sēgā* means all-embracing

6 ro. *Satanāwī* | means all-creator

22 *Latanāwī* [means] he does not delay

*Īyā'el* means he whom all fear

*Amānū'el* means imperishable

- 23 *I* (?) means helper  
*Afrā'el* [means] Saviour  
*Māryōn* means all-preserver
- 24 *Menātēr* means all-keeper  
*Ēl, Ēl, Ēl* means judge of all  
*Akō* means all-sufferer
- 25 *Ēlōhē* means all-bearer  
*Ilē'ā* means rejoicer  
*Ilē'ā* means healer of all ill
- 26 *Yāu* means true, upright  
*Ṣabā'ōt* means clement  
*Af* means humble
- 27 *Afyākīrō* means patient  
*Lāhē, Lāhē, Lāhē* means pure of all sin  
*Mustadyōs* means just
- 28 *Afār, Afār, Afār* means giver and taker  
*Afreyōn* means awful of voice  
*Afrānātā* means king of kings
- 29 *Lāhān, Lāhān, Lāhān* means god of gods  
*Ūrā'el* means judge of judges."

6 vo. 30 And there is no other god besides Him in heaven | above and on earth below, One God is He, Jesus Christ, Ṣabā'ōt, Holy, Holy, Holy, Immortal, from now and for ever and ever, Amen!

31 And after Jesus had finished telling His names again Jesus said to His Disciples: "Go and teach and preach in my name! Heal the lepers by this my name, cast out the demons by this my name; and ye will be saved from this power of the malignant demons. 32 Close their mouths by this my name; and ye will be saved from the fire-eater by this my name; and ye will find full favor and perfect grace with all peoples of the earth and [with] the kings by this my name. 33 And there is nobody who shall be able to overpower you; all creatures shall fear and tremble and be afraid of your | voice, and all unclean spirits shall be driven away. 34 And when you lay this my name [on somebody], speak thus: 'Give us O Lord by the power of these thy names full favor and perfect grace with all people; let all living beings fear us and let them tremble before our voice.'" 35 And by the power of these thy names may the satans be driven away and not approach me and may they not touch my soul or my body, thy servant . . . Giorgis.



*Doings of the Disciples by the power of Christ's name (Ch. III-VI).*

### CHAPTER III.

#### HEALING OF SICK PEOPLE AND DRIVING OUT OF DEMONS.

1 And the 12 Disciples went into all countries to kings and rulers. And they said unto them: "Believe in the Lord the God of all flesh, that ye learn and believe! And if ye believe us, ye shall be saved by this name of our Saviour." 2 All people said among one another: "Pray, tell us how your faith is, and pray, heal these | sick. And if ye have faith, we shall believe in your God." 3 And the Disciples said unto all people: "Come [and] see! and bring all sick and diseased, that we may heal them by the grace of God." 4 And the 12 Disciples read these names of God, and while they were praying, heaven was opened unto them; and they saw [it] open. And when they had seen it open, then they rejoiced greatly, and their faces shone brighter than the sun before all people. And all people feared them and were afraid of their voice, and all the sick were healed by these words. 5 Thus heal me, thy servant . . . Giorgis. 6 And all the people believed in their words, and they said to them: "Ye are truly the Disciples of Jesus Christ. Ye are strong | by [the power of] the Holy Ghost and in faith." 7 And again they went to shew the faith in this prayer, and they came to [a place] where many demons were assembled. And they prayed this prayer, and they invoked the names of God. And they took sand in their hands and looked up lifting their eyes towards heaven. 8 They united in prayer saying with one voice: "Disperse, O Lord, all demons who beset us; by the power of these thy holy names close their mouth and destroy their power." And after they had said this, they cast the sand against them. 9 And all unclean demons perished and were destroyed by these names of Christ: Seven thousand one hundred and forty (?) demons were dispersed. 10 Thus dis-  
8 vo. perse all demons and unclean spirits | that beset me and (that) are stronger than I, thy servant . . . . . By the power of these thy names save me, O Lord, from all evil war and murder and the mouth of the enemy and the thrusting of lances and the flying of arrows and the throwing of stones. 11 And from every man who devours and who

is devoured, and from every man who inflicts plagues, and from every man who touches and who is touched [with magical power], and from every strong man and oppressor, and from every deceiver and calumniator, and from every oppressor and violent man, and from every idol, *māri* and *mārit*; and from every root and poison and from every man who reviles and curses; and from all who eat flesh and drink blood; and from every enemy within and without (?),<sup>1</sup> and from every man who  
 9 ro. kills the soul and [every] waylayer. 12 And from every snake | and serpent having poison which kills life,<sup>2</sup> and from every wicked man who corrupts soul by soul, and from everything [evil] which I have seen and heard and which I have not heard, within and without,<sup>1</sup> far and near, and from every one who designs evil against me, save me, thy servant. . . . . 13 O Lord, protect us from every disease and trouble and infirmity of soul and body, and from every disease of *māq'āy*<sup>3</sup> and colic and calamity<sup>4</sup> and the demon of noontide and the disease of lowlands and highlands. 14 And from all this—Jesus said: And every man who believes and reads [these names] and is washed and purified by this prayer; it shall bring him perfect grace and [it shall be] a subduer of enemies and an expeller of demons and a salvation of the soul and a purification of sin on the last day—may it be [such] to thy servant. . . . .

## CHAPTER IV.

## DOINGS OF THE DISCIPLES IN PERSIA.

9 ro. 1 And after the 12 Disciples had finished this work, then they went to (all) the people of Persia, to preach and to speak and teach all people of Persia. They came to 77 kings and rulers, and they stood up among them and said to them: 2 "Behold, our Lord has sent us to you that we speak unto you and heal all your sick by the grace of Jesus Christ. And if ye believe, ye shall find life and salvation of your soul[s]. But if ye refuse to listen to our words and to our command, behold, God shall judge you in his wrath, and no one of the other gods in whom ye believe, shall save you." 3 Thereupon all the people became  
 10 ro. angry and said to the 12 Disciples: "Ye being men | like ourselves, by what power do ye heal the sick and cast out the demons

<sup>1</sup> This meaning is merely guessed; the Ethiopic word *ḥṯṳ* may be a mistake for *ḥḌṯ*. But perhaps there is a mistranslation in the Ethiopic text.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "soul."

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of this word is uncertain, it is perhaps to be derived from *ḥaq'ē* "hip."

<sup>4</sup> Dillmann: *malum improvisum*.

by your word? Where is your God? Tell us clearly so that we may believe you." 4 And there was a man among the people of Persia who believed in the name of Jesus Christ, whose name was Qīrōs and whose wife, called Sūrēq, was possessed by a demon; he fell down before the 12 Disciples and said unto them: 5 "Since I left my mother's womb I have believed in the name of Jesus Christ, and I have worshipped no other God. And ye are blessed. Truly ye are the Disciples of Christ, who (can) endure and teach all people, and by your prayer truly all sick and diseased are healed; and by your word the unclean  
10 vo. demons leave. | And I believe in you myself. Come, and heal my wife, that all people may learn your faith." 6 And the 12 Disciples said to Qīrōs: "Behold, be not afraid, O Qīrōs, believe in Christ! behold thy wife shall be healed by the true word of faith." And they made her to sleep on her bed, and they all prayed over her and blessed her with their hands. 7 And they said all together: "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, One God." And they read these names of God and said: "Leave, evil demon, by the power of the names of Christ!" And they stretched forth their hands together and looked up lifting their eyes toward heaven. 8 They asked and prayed, and said in unison: "Give us, O Lord, by the power of  
11 ro. these thy names power and authority [of] the true faith | by which we may heal all sick and [make] strong (and) the diseased. 9 Give us, O Lord, by the power of these thy names [power] and authority [of] the true faith; give us, O Lord, [power] by which we may cast out all demons and evil spirits; by the power of these thy names [give us] salvation and subduing of the enemy by the true faith, and perfect grace with all peoples and kings and rulers of the earth, life and salvation on earth and in heaven. 10 Give us spiritual penitence which turns us to thee all the days of our life. Give us the true faith and the holy prayer which drives away all disease of soul and body— 11 may it be for everyone, [and] for thy servant . . . .—12 and which foils the incantations and the doings of men, and purifies from sin and annihilates our trespasses and offenses: give us  
11 vo. all that our heart | asks from thee. 13 Give us strength and fearsome awe that we may enter and destroy the power of all our enemies and adversaries. Give us the true faith which seals the mouths and binds the tongues and closes the throats of

all who slander us and speak evil against us. 14 Give us the true faith which strengthens our loins and consolidates our hearts and makes strong (?) our souls so that we are not afraid, day or night, of the wrath of kings and of rulers. 15 Give us, O Lord, the true faith and the holy prayer that none who plan and do wrong may overpower us, destroy their plans and baffle the thoughts of their hearts and their counsels and paralyze what they speak with their tongues, and turn off what they speak with their mouths. 16 Give us, O Lord, the true faith

12 ro. and | the holy prayer by which the waylayers flee and escape. And as to those who kill the soul—shatter their shields and their spears, and may their bows and arrows be broken. 17 Give us wisdom and gentle knowledge, patience and spiritual humbleness, that we may learn and perceive how Satan shall not seduce us nor make us fall into the pit of sin. Give us strong help and hope, Amen! 18 And by the true faith let us find reward with thee on the day of compensation and (on the day) of judgment, then may thy grace find us! Before thee [let us find] eternal joy and everlasting bliss, and let us be satisfied with the blessing of thy house in safety and peace after the evil days.

12 vo. 19 Give us the true faith and the holy prayer, by which the keepers of sorcery may not overpower us; abash and foil | their witchcraft and destroy their power and shatter all their work.

20 Give us the true faith and the holy prayer that we may not be overpowered by the blasphemers and slanderers (?) who curse us in the evening and in the morning, by sun and moon [light], on mountains and on hills, with praise and with incense touching the altar, and looking in the water and knocking on the ground; as to those who curse us by these things, do not hear (them) any wish of their hearts and do not accept their incense, and let their curse fall back upon their heads and let them be rooted out for ever and ever, Amen! 21 Give us the true faith

and the holy prayer, by which the evil gods cannot overpower us; destroy their idols and shatter their thrones. 22 Give us the new light and enlighten the eyes of our hearts and remove the stumbling-[block] from [before] our feet (?). And lead us on the right path and bring us where we | wish to go in peace.

13 ro. 23 Give us the true faith and the holy and profitable and quickening prayer; make thy Holy Ghost come down from heaven, from thee, that it be a healing for all sick and diseased. And

- bless with its fruit our children for our generation [and] for ever, Amen! 24 Give us that all this which we have spoken with our mouths and our tongues may come to us from (?) thy exalted dwelling and the sacred place of thy glory,—this which we have asked thee; and we have prayed unto thee that our prayer may not be in vain<sup>1</sup>, help us soon to-day on this day.
- 25 Give us the true faith, glory and wealth and perfect grace with all peoples and kings [and] rulers of the earth. 26 As thou gatherest the cloud[s] and sheddest the water on the face of the
- 13 vo. earth, thus make rain and shed | grace upon me in my face; that it be a coat of mail and a protecting shield; like a hen that covers and shields her young under her wings, thus shield and protect me under the cover of thy wings, with thy protecting shield; and with thy holy right hand and with thy strong power protect me against all thy punishment and thy wrath, and lead me out by thy fear, thy servant . . . . .
- 27 If it is thy will, show thy power and thy authority to-day on this holy day;—heal this woman soon that they may know us and [know] that we have the true faith and are truly thy Disciples; and that thou hast created and shaped us, [and] that there is truly no other god beside thee, in heaven above and on
- 14 ro. earth below. To | thee belongs glory and praise for ever and ever, Amen!" 28 And after they had finished their prayer and their request, God heard them from heaven, His holy place, and gave to the 12 Disciples all that their heart requested: and they breathed their spirit into her ear and washed her with the water of prayer, and she became whole. 29 And she rose straightway and fell down before them and exulted and rejoiced with great joy. But Satan left by the prayer of the 12 Disciples, and thus they healed this woman. 30 And likewise heal me, O Lord, from all disease of my soul and my body and keep away all demons from thy servant . . . . . 31 And when all the kings and rulers and people saw that this woman was healed, one half of them, |
- 14 vo. who did not recognize,<sup>2</sup> perished and were destroyed for ever and ever—Amen! But those who believed were saved from all disease and trouble of their souls by these names of Christ. 32 Thus save me and protect me, O Lord, by the power of these thy names, thy servant . . . . . 33 For Jesus said: Everyone who believes and who invokes this my name, shall be saved and shall not be confounded for ever and ever. 34 Thus let myself not be confounded, thy servant . . . . . 35 And everyone who is

<sup>1</sup> Literally "return naked."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps mistake for "believe."

washed and cleansed by the prayer of the 12 Disciples, shall not be approached by any power of evil or nucleian spirits.

36 Drive away all power of the enemy and let him not inflict any disease or infirmity upon the soul and the body of thy servant . . . . .

15 ro. Thus, O Lord, save me by the power of these thy names. [ And by the prayer of thy holy Disciples preserve my soul and my body, that of thy servant . . . . . 37 And they set Qirós over all, even over

two kings, and made him heir of their country. By what? By the prayer of the 12 Disciples.' 38 And the people spoke

among themselves, they saw and wondered and believed in the 12 Disciples and in Christ who had made powerful the prayer of the 12 Disciples and in Christ whose throne is glorious and exalted and who is free from temptation and subdues the power of all his

enemies and adversaries. 39 Thus save me, O Lord, from temptation; bless me and protect me, thy servant . . . . . By the power of

these thy names exalt my throne, and humble and abash my enemies and adversaries and crush them under the stool of my feet, of thy servant . . . . . for ever and ever, Amen! 40 [They said:] "All |

15 vo. who believe in the name of Christ, come, let us unite to extol these Disciples of Christ. And let us destroy the gods and burn [them] with fire, and let us not worship any other gods besides

theirs. And let us believe in their prayer that we may be saved from every chastisement of God's wrath which burns and blazes

[heavier] than a flame of fire." 41 And they gathered their gods and burned [them] with fire, and all their gods perished, and none

among them was saved. 42 Thus make perish, O Lord, all demons and evil spirits who eat flesh and drink blood; who crush the bones and

seduce the children of men: drive them away, O Lord, by the power of these thy names, and by the prayer of thy holy Disciples, from thy ser-

16 ro. vant | . . . . . 43 And they were converted to the Lord God. And they were saved by the prayer of the 12 Disciples, and

became good and compassionate [people], and their generations were blessed for ever and ever, Amen. 44 Thus bless me, O Lord,

by the power of these thy names, and by the prayer of the 12 Disciples. Preserve me and protect me, thy servant . . . . . for ever and ever,

Amen!

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<sup>1</sup> The text does not seem to be altogether certain here.



## CHAPTER V.

## DOINGS OF THE DISCIPLES IN SODOM AND GOMORRHA.

- 1 And after that the 12 Disciples arose and went away, after they had healed all sick and diseased. 2 And these Disciples said: "Come, let us go to the land of Sodom and Gomorrha, let us speak to them and give them precepts. And let us not fear the earthly death for the name of God; for God is with us, and nobody can overpower us because of this name of our Saviour. 3 And they are the people | who have incensed God by their evil doing[s] and have polluted themselves by their many sins, and have made themselves like animals. Come, let us take courage and not be afraid of them and let us rebuke them with true admonition." 4 And they went to the land of Sodom and Gomorrha and preached and taught, saying unto them: "Believe ye in the Lord God, your creator! But as to us, if we die for the name of Christ, [we shall receive] great reward in heaven, and we shall find gain and receive grace [and] reward and life from Him. 5 And if ye refuse to listen to our words and commands, the Lord our God will judge you; but if ye listen to [our] word [and] our commands, your sins will be forgiven unto you and God will desist from His wrath against you. 6 If ye | repent and take refuge with Him, do not worship other gods; for the gods cannot save you. 7 Do not go to the wife of [another] man' and do not kill the soul of your friend, that God may not kill you, [and deliver you] unto punishment in the hell-fire. 8 Behold, your end is near and has arrived, and there will be hunger and pestilence; your country will perish and vanish and be as if it had never been created." 9 And when the 12 Disciples admonished them thus, the people became angry and enraged, then they hurled many maledictions against them and they seized the 12 Disciples, and said to them: 10 "Why do ye give us commands which we do not know? Behold, we shall kill you; let us see who shall save you to-day from our hands, you who pride yourselves without having | a helper." 11 Again the 12 Disciples said to them: "Trusting in the true faith and strengthened by the Holy Ghost, we do

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we should read **ἄλλῃ: ἄλλῃ:** (or **ἅ**) **ἄλλῃ** "man to man."



not fear you, for ye will not be able to kill us; God will help us and deliver us from your hands to-day, but ye will be without strength or power. 12 Ye are unclean and cursed, ye are in sin and in bodies without souls." 13 And they bound their hands and feet. And an angel of God descended from heaven and came to the 12 Disciples at the time of midnight, saying unto them: "Be not afraid, ye apostles [and] servants of God, select and strengthened by the Holy Ghost." 14 And then they fell down on their knees. And then they prayed and  
18 ro. asked and invoked these names: God | opened their fetters and their faces shone brighter than sun and moon before all [people], and the 12 Disciples said: 15 "See how the Lord our God has saved us and [how] our fetters have been opened by the power of our God." 16 And [even] after they had seen that their fetters had been opened, none of them believed except one whose name was Lot; and again they said to the 12 Disciples: 17 "Behold, we shall throw you into a fiery furnace, and then, let us see who shall bring you out of this fire." 18 But these Disciples said to them: "Fire will be like cold water by the will of the Lord our God, and water will be like fire. Without the will of the Lord our God no fire can reach us or touch  
18 vo. us." 19 And | Lot said to all the people: "Do not do this thing, and likewise do not revile them. Come, come, let us listen to their word and let us keep their commands. 20 For truly they<sup>1</sup> are the Disciples and have the true faith, and I believe in their prayer, and will not walk in your works nor follow your traces." 21 And when they heard these words of Lot, all the people became angry and said to him: "Thou also, if thou believest in them—let us see, how they will save thee, they who can not save themselves!" 22 But then Lot took courage and united with the 12 Disciples. . And they heated a pit of fire seven times.<sup>2</sup> 23 And the Disciples said to Lot: "Be not afraid  
19 ro. and let thy heart not fear; behold, | God is with thee, He will save thee." 24 And the 12 Disciples prayed these names of Christ, and took sand in their hands and cast it in the fire, saying: "Make, O Lord, this fire like cold water!" while all the people witnessed [it] with their own eyes. 25 And they said: "We must believe them to be keepers of magic art more than<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MS. "ye." <sup>2</sup> Cf. Dan. iii. 19 (Torrey). <sup>3</sup> Suggestion of Prof. Torrey.

- all [other] men, because they have escaped (?); and now come, let us give them poison." 26 And they gave 12 full cups to the 12 Disciples. But the disciples prayed to God and read these names of God, saying: 27 "Thou, O Lord our God and our Saviour, [destroy] this poison by the power of these thy names so that they
- 19 vo. can not kill us and that these people | of the land be abashed!" 28 And then they crossed their faces, and saying: "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost" they took [it] and drank [it], but all this tribulation did not harm them. 29 The people tried them with all [devices], but they could not overpower them. Then all the people said among themselves: 30 "Never until to-day have we seen such evildoers, whom no man can overpower and who have made our strong fetters like fire, and fire they made like cold water. 31 And since we have punished them in all [possible ways] and have not overpowered them, what shall we do unto them? Let us drive the 12 Disciples away from our country!" 32 But they said to all the [people of] Sodom and Gomorrha: "See the power of God, that saves us from your hands! But ye have no power or
- 20 ro. strength!" 33 And they went away | from that land, and said to Lot: "Come quickly, leave with us this town, for the end of this land has come." And Lot departed with his children and his wife; and the 12 Disciples cursed the people of Sodom and Gomorrha, and shook the dust from their feet. 34 And God made a flame of fire come down from heaven upon them; the 88 gates of this land were extinguished and exterminated for ever and ever—Amen—, and all [its people] perished because of the curse of the 12 Disciples, that it should be a witness for them. And no one among them escaped; it became a desert, as though it had never been. 35 Thus extinguish and exterminate my enemies and adversaries, those of thy servant . . . . . Save me, O Lord,
- 20 vo. from the | unclean spirits and the bad men who beset us and the wicked ones who beset [us] night and day: abash them and drive them away from me by the power of these thy names. Keep me and protect me and defend me and shelter me, thy servant . . . . . 36 And Lot was a chosen one of God, and was blessed and saved because he believed in the prayer of the 12 Disciples; and Lot was strong in the true faith. 37 Make me like him, O Lord, and save me and lead me out of every persecution and temptation, and evil speech and imprecations, by the power of these thy names and the prayer of the 12 Disciples, me thy servant . . . . . 38 Be merciful and gracious unto

me and do not be far from me at any time. Thou art my God and my  
 21 ro. Lord, protect me with thy strong right hand and strengthen | me, thy  
 servant . . . . .

## CHAPTER VI.

### THE DISCIPLES AND 88 KINGS AND 140 CITIES.

1 And after the 12 Disciples had manifested these things,  
 they went into all lands. And on the road they found 88 kings  
 and 140<sup>1</sup> cities assembled worshipping other gods. 2 And the 12  
 Disciples came and said: "In the name of the Father and the  
 Son and the Holy Ghost, One God! Be abashed and ashamed  
 all ye who worship other gods; but ye, who believe in the name  
 of our God, shall be saved by these names of Christ." 3 And  
 after the 12 Disciples had said this, the 88 [kings] gathered  
 against the 12 Disciples and intended to kill them; but the  
 Disciples prayed then, raising their eyes and lifting their  
 thoughts and stretching forth their hands toward heaven. 4 And  
 21 vo. they said, united in one thought | : "Exalt, praise and laud  
 [Iim]!" 5 And they said: "Blessed art thou, O Lord, our God;  
 lauded and praised be thy name for ever. For we are thy ser-  
 vants who invoke thy everlasting (?) name; and now, hear us,  
 O Lord, [grant] the desire of our hearts and do not make us a  
 derision of the enemy. 6 Save us, O Lord, by the power of these  
 thy names from this people and [these] kings and rulers and the  
 evildoers: abash them before us and behind us. And destroy  
 their power, [make it] like the grass of the roofs, and disperse  
 their counsel and their gathering that they cannot overpower us,  
 Amen! 7 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy  
 names from all evil men and mourners' who [try to] kill us,—by  
 the power of these thy names, Amen! 8 Save us, O Lord, our  
 22 ro. God, by the power of these | thy names from all evil and [from]  
 the demon of noontide and from calamity; by day and by night  
 drive them away, and keep them far [from us] that they may  
 not beset us, but be abashed by thy grace and mercy, Amen!  
 9 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names,  
 from all intriguers and deceivers and oppressors, shatter their

<sup>1</sup> The MS. has here 130; in the other places we read 140.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps "deceivers," if we read ʔḥḏḏḏ instead of ḏḏḏ.

- power and baffle their counsel, and paralyze their intentions, Amen! 10 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from those who frighten and endanger our soul and body, and [from] the serpent and the dragon, who pierces and bites with his teeth and his tongue and scratches with his claw—drive [him] away and avert [him] from me, Amen! 11 Save us, O Lord our God, by the power of these thy names from all
- 22 vo. keepers of magic art, who corrupt the soul and who make poisons with skin and pillows, with sweat and the nails of our hands and the hair of our heads and the nails of our feet, and with the hair of our eye-[brows] and the hair of our clothes and the hair of our girdles, and where we eat and drink,<sup>1</sup> out of our whole souls and bodies,—destroy [such] poisons and make their power like ashes. May they be like cold water and like soft lead (sic!) that nobody can overpower us, Amen! 12 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from all punishment by thy wrath and [from] reviling speech, and those who revile us, let them be detested<sup>2</sup> with all men. And those who are wroth against us—may God let the punishment of his wrath come upon them,
- 23 ro. Amen. 13 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these | thy names from all the persecution of Satan, from seducing lust, from all the nets of death, and abash Satan that he flee and be ashamed and not approach us; and let his power be shattered and his counsel be destroyed [that it be] like ashes, Amen! 14 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from all intriguing men and those who calumniate with words and tongue, and disperse their counsel and cut off their tongues with [thy] sword, Amen! 15 Save us, O Lord, our God, by these thy names from the short days, from the evil day, and from the hours of temptation. Guard me and protect my soul and my body and let me dwell in health and in peace, me, thy servant . . . . .
- 23 vo. 16 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from all | enemies who kill our souls: let their power be broken and their shield be shattered and let their lances and arrows turn back upon themselves. 17 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names from a death in sin, from the fire-

<sup>1</sup> This may refer to the belief that magic is particularly effective if applied to a person while eating.

<sup>2</sup> Read  $\text{𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕}$  instead of  $\text{𐤀𐤕𐤕𐤕}$ .

eater:<sup>1</sup> let us find grace and mercy before thee and let us not be ashamed before thee in the end, Amen. 18 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names, from disease and infirmity and from breaking of the bones of the body.

19 And heal speedily by thy grace and mercy thy servant . . . . .

20 Save us, O Lord, our God by the power of these thy names from the disease of *māg"āy*<sup>2</sup> and colic, and [from] diseases of the eye and the head. 21 And avert [them], O Lord, and remove  
24 ro. them from me and raise me from my fall, me thy servant . . . |

Amen. 22 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power of these thy names, from disease<sup>3</sup> of our<sup>3</sup> feet and from tears of our<sup>4</sup> eyes. Strengthen our feet on the path of peace and enlighten the eyes of our hearts, and lead us and sustain us in the good. Give us, O Lord, knowledge without grief [and] knowledge without hypocrisy. 23 And fill my heart with joy and gladness, that of thy servant . . . . . Amen! 24 Save us, O Lord, our God, by the power

of these thy names from all grief and calamity; and from all turpitude on earth and in heaven; [let us do] only honest things; and from eternal punishment and flaming fire; bestow on us joy on earth and life in heaven. 25 Do not forsake me, thy servant . . .

26 Grant us all this that we have spoken with | our mouths and  
24 vo. have asked, and do not treat us like other people: but love us more than all human creatures, bless us and have mercy upon us, guard us and protect us and confirm us, thou who hast fastened heaven without a pillar and the earth on the water.

27 Thus confirm me, O Lord, thy servant . . . . . 28 By the power of these thy names and by the power of thy kingdom and by the strength of thy throne, thou art our Lord God. Save us from all evil on earth and from all condemnation in heaven. Guard us and protect us also from being overpowered by any bad man,—

29 [guard me also,] thy servant . . . . .— 30 who speak [evil] with their mouths and voices and who plan [evil] in their hearts, from every heavy punishment in heaven; from all this save us

by the power of these thy names and | by the strength of thy  
25 ro. throne and by thy exalted dwelling; and by the glory of thy imperishable kingdom, by thy full and sweet everlasting kindness.

31 Save me and defend me: in this world and in the coming world thy grace and thy mercy be upon me, thy servant . . . . . Amen!

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps "the consuming (*nāq*) fire." <sup>2</sup> See above p. 31, ann. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Literally "chastisement."

MS. "my."

- 32 Be not far from us, but be with us always at every time, help us speedily to-day, on this day let thy kindness be revealed upon us.<sup>1</sup> And thy will and thy pleasure be done; we cannot carry out this thing. 33 But with thee everything is carried out by thy word and thy commandment; carry out on us thy great mercy and grace, and let thy salvation fill all our hearts with joy and gladness. And let all this that we have asked and
- 25 vo. that we have said, | be done speedily; help us to-day, on this day. 34 Thus hear my prayer that I have asked from thee, I, thy servant . . . 35 To thee be praise and laud for ever and ever, Amen." 36 And after they had finished these words, God granted their request and all the desires of their hearts; because they believed, he heard their request. 37 And God said to his Disciples: "My servants, strong in faith, come ye to me; for I have chosen you out of all human creatures. Take [what] I give unto you; grace more abundant than the dew of the skies and [farther reaching] than the width of the earth; I love and favor you exceedingly. 38 But now speak and announce to all creatures,
- 26 ro. that whosoever believes in you, believes | in me and shall be saved by your prayer, and if any one does not believe in you, behold, ye shall see to-day, how I shall punish them in my wrath, and I shall disperse them like sand on the earth, for even the heavens and the earth cannot bear my wrath; the whole creation shall fear and tremble and be terrified." 39 When these Disciples heard this, they thanked the Lord and praised their God, and they said to all the people: "Ye have refused to listen to our word and command." 40 And straightway they were terrified and appalled by the fear in their hearts, and their gods were exterminated and rooted out for ever, by this prayer of the names of Christ. 41 And while [the Disciples] crossed their faces and prayed and read these names of
- 26 vo. Christ, the hands | and the feet of these people became dry like wood, and their bows and arrows were broken and came back upon themselves. And their shields and lances were shattered; they were abashed and ashamed before the(m) [Disciples]. 42 In the same way may the hands and the feet of all my enemies and adversaries be broken, and their power be shattered and their eyes become blind and their mouths be bound and their throats be shut; may

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<sup>1</sup> MS. "me."



they not be able to speak and may they be abashed and ashamed. And keep all the demons that beset me away from me, and save me by the power of these thy holy names, and I have taken refuge in the prayer of the 12 Disciples, I, thy servant . . . . . 43 And the 12 Apostles were saved by the power of these names of Christ from the hands  
 27 ro. of all the 88 kings and 140 cities | who worshipped other gods.  
 44 Thou who hast saved the 12 Disciples, save me in the same way as them, O Lord, my God, from the fiery furnace in heaven and from all evil on earth. O Lord, choose me and be pleased with my soul and my body, [with] me, thy servant . . . . . 45 [Then] the 12 Disciples converted the 88 kings [and] the 140 cities and made them forsake their gods and brought them back to the Lord their God.

## CHAPTER VII.

## HYMN OF THE DISCIPLES.

1 After he had revealed their true faith and their uplifting prayer to all peoples of the earth, they thanked and praised the Lord, their God, they lauded and sang with one mouth, and they said in unison:

- 2 "[Alleluia,] thou art clement, O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, thou art righteous, O Lord, Amen.  
 27 vo. Alleluia, thou art merciful, O | Lord, Amen.  
 3 Alleluia, thou art true, O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, be thou<sup>1</sup> gracious unto us, O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, thou art pure, O Lord, Amen.  
 4 Alleluia, thou art without impurity of sin, O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, thou art praised, O Lord, and thou art blessed,  
 O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, thou art awful, O Lord, Amen.  
 5 Alleluia, thou art mighty, O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, thou art strong, O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, thou art wise, O Lord, Amen.  
 6 Alleluia, thou art exalted, O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, thou art faithful, O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, thou art forbearing, O Lord, Amen.  
 7 Alleluia, thou givest life, O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, thou raisest, O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, thou art knowing, O Lord, Amen.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably a mistake for "thou art."



- 28 ro. 8 Alleluia, thou art the king of kings, O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, thou art the | god of gods, O Lord, Amen.  
 Alleluia, to thee belong praise and thanks for ever and  
 ever, Amen.
- 9 Thee we worship on our knees, and we believe in thy liv-  
 ing name for ever and ever, Amen!"

## CHAPTER VIII.

### CHRIST SHOWS HIS DISCIPLES THE PLACE OF CONDEMNATION.

- 1 And after all this had happened to the 12 Disciples, they  
 again asked our Lord Jesus Christ and said to Him: "Behold,  
 thou hast given us all that we have asked thee, and thou hast  
 shown us the light which does not go out for ever and ever, and  
 the joy which does not end for generation and generation.  
 But now show us the sight of the judgment that we may learn  
 and perceive its likeness." 2 And He said unto them: "Better  
 than to see it would be for you not to see this sight of the  
 judgment. For if ye see the smoke of the judgment, your soul  
 will fear and tremble; desist, do not see [it]!" 3 But there-  
 28 vo. after | He showed them a bubbling stream of fire full from its  
 top to its bottom, with reeking and fetid smoke. And when  
 they saw the smoke of the judgment from a distance, tormenting  
 pain came over them. 4 And they fell on their faces and were  
 terrified, weeping bitter tears, and they were like corpses forty  
 days and forty nights. 5 And after that Jesus Christ called  
 the Apostles: "Rise and be not afraid, my servants!" 6 And  
 they rose straightway and crossed their faces, and said: "We  
 have seen a stupendous thing. When we had fallen on our faces  
 having seen [the judgment], we crossed our faces, and we were  
 like corpses. For when we had seen the smoke of the judg-  
 ment we wept bitter tears and we said, 'We are born in vain.'"  
 7 And Jesus said unto them: "Have I not told you that it  
 29 ro. would be better for you not to see this | judgment than to see  
 it?" 8 And the Disciples of Jesus answered him: "It is true,  
 O Lord, that thou hast told us [so]. But now tell us, O Lord,  
 how a man can be saved from this consuming fire!" 9 And  
 the 12 Disciples wept [tears that were] like a stream of ten  
 winters. Then the Disciples of Jesus said to Him: 10 "Why  
 hast thou created our father Adam in thy image and in thy

likeness? Do not destroy the work of thy hands! But now tell us openly, O our Lord, O our Master, by what man can be saved from sin! For if thou art not merciful unto us, there is no good deed in us; but if thou art merciful unto us, we are called righteous and pure. 11 Then will be known thy mercy upon us sinners and trespassers. But with us there is no one good and righteous and pure like thee, our Lord, our Master, for

29 vo. there is no man that does not sin | before thee, O our Lord. 12 Is there any wood that does not become putrid, or a man who would be found perfect, except thee? 13 O Lord, do not punish me in thy wrath and do not chastise me with thy punishment, me thy servant. . . . 14 For there is none that can stand before thy face; heaven and earth can not bear thy wrath. But save us, that we may be saved from thy hand." 15 Again Jesus Christ said unto His Disciples: "I shall tell you truly; but do not reveal these my words [to anybody], and [this is] because he cannot bear or keep [them]. And when I tell you the secret, heaven will burn and earth will be fire. 16 And to you everything is revealed, nothing have I concealed from you, and no one hold

30 ro. I equal unto you except Mary my mother, who bore me in her | womb nine months and embraced me with her arm' and nursed me from a breast sweeter than honey and salt; 17 and except John the Virgin, who baptized me in the river of Jordan and who touched my head which cannot be touched and which even the blaze of fire cannot touch—he took it in his hand; 18 and except Abraham my Beloved, with whom I made a covenant in the land of *Kirābōs*<sup>2</sup>, standing in a column of clouds, to whom I sent down a sheep as a ransom for his son Isaak, and to whom I revealed secret mysteries; 19 except [also] my servant Moses the prophet with whom I spoke voice to voice and to whom I gave victory over the enemy and whom I set over the Children of Israel 72 years." 20 And the Disciples of Jesus asked him that he might reveal unto them His secret name. 21 After that

30 vo. Jesus spoke to them and said unto | them: "Take [it]. Now I give you these my names; keep them and guard them, [that] ye may be saved from sin. 22 And every man who knows these my names, shall be saved; whosoever hangs them around his neck and wears them and keeps them and reads them and whosoever is purified and cleansed by his belief [in them], shall

<sup>1</sup> Literally "hand."<sup>2</sup> Probably—"Chaldea," see above p. 4.

- be saved from many sins." 23 And Jesus wrote his names with His own holy hand and gave them to His Disciples. And while they read together, they found His secret name and they rejoiced and exulted, saying: "Lauded and praised be thy name for ever. Thou, O Lord, our God, hast given us all this, [namely] thy holy name." 24 And they invoked His name saying: "*Rāfōn, Rāfōn, Rāfōn; Rākōn, Rākōn, Rākōn; Pīs, Pīs, Pīs; Aflasō, Aflasō, Aflasō; Malyō'eyōs, Malyō'eyōs,* 31 ro. [*Malyō'eyōs*]; *Ma'eyōs, Ma'eyōs, [Ma'eyōs]; Enā'ēl, Enā'ēl, Enā'ēl; Šerā'ēl, Šerā'ēl, Šerā'ēl; Henā'ēl, Henā'ēl, Henā'ēl; Nārōs, Nārōs, Nārōs; Kōrōs, Kōrōs, Kōrōs; Felōs, Felōs, Felōs; Līnōs, Līnōs, Līnōs; Ērōs, Ērōs, Ērōs*; and my name which is greater than all, *Bersābehehyōs*. 25 And there is nobody who knows this my name except the four beasts, and except the twenty-four elders of heaven<sup>1</sup> and except Mary my mother." 26 And He said unto them: "By these my names ye shall be saved and your sins shall be forgiven to you. And whosoever invokes [them] like you and believes in this my name, shall be saved, and not be ashamed before me, and shall not see the smoke of the judgment; he shall be free from sin; his sins which he has committed from his childhood until his old age shall be forgiven unto him." 27 And Jesus Christ said: 31 vo. "Of all that is written in | my books nothing is greater than these my words; and this prayer is greater than all my prayers; and whosoever believes in this prayer, I shall save him and shall be merciful and gracious unto him. 28 I have sworn by my exalted throne; I have sworn by my pure dwelling; I have sworn by the stool of my feet; I have sworn by the head of Mary my mother, by the holy angels, my messengers. 29 And I do not deceive by my word, and I do not delude by my righteousness, and I do not make impure my covenant." 30 And as thou hast saved thy holy Disciples, thus save me,<sup>2</sup> O Lord, by this thy holy name, cleanse me and purify me from my sin, me thy servant . . . . . 31 And again Jesus Christ said: "Blessed be he who reads this book and blessed he who is purified by the prayer and who 32 ro. believes in | this prayer. 32 Blessed he who is anxious, when they read this prayer, to keep this prayer; I will make strong his power like [that of] a rock, and I will guard him by my power and strength, and I will love him like my Disciples.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Revelation iv. 4-6.<sup>2</sup> MS "us."

33 Blessed he who wears this prayer and hangs it around his neck; no evil spirit shall approach him and nobody shall be able to touch his body or his soul. 34 And where this book is found, disease and infirmity and hunger shall not enter that house, and Satan shall be driven away and not approach that dwelling. Nor shall a thief steal, and as to his enemies—no enemy or adversary of his shall be able to destroy or make fly away his power.' 35 And his house and his children shall be blessed, and the angels shall not stay away from him. Always  
 32 vo. all blessing of the prophets and apostles shall fill his house | and the spirit of God shall abide in it. But the spirit of Satan shall stay away from it. 36 And thou also if thou believest in this prayer, everything shall be done unto thee by this prayer. And the water of prayer shall not be poured on the earth, for it is sacred and holy, the likeness of the blood of Christ. 37 Let it be a cleanser of sin and a salvation for the soul and the body of thy servant . . . . . 38 And if thou, reading this, art purified, thou shalt find favor and love with all men; the mouth of the enemy and the thrust of lances shalt thou overpower and thou shalt subdue the power of all thy enemies and adversaries; and nobody shall stand before thee, but all shall fear and tremble before thy voice. 39 And when they see thy face, they shall flee and hasten [away], and thy speech shall be sweet toward the  
 33 ro. men who | plan evil in their hearts against thee. And the mighty shall not overpower thee by their might. From all this he shall be saved," said the Saviour Himself—40 As thou hast said in thy word, save me thy servant . . . . .—to Him be praise and thanks for ever and ever, Amen!

## CHAPTER IX.

## CHRIST SHOWS PARADISE TO HIS DISCIPLES.

1 And after Jesus had said these things to them, again His Disciples asked him, saying: "Behold, we have seen the sight of the judgment. But now show us the sight of Paradise that we may rejoice in thy grace and kindness!" 2 And Jesus said unto his Disciples: "Rise, let us go through the regions [of heaven?]; and there I will show you wonderful miracles and astonishing things." 3 And they went and came to the

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<sup>1</sup> The translation of this passage is very doubtful.

regions [of heaven] and they saw the land of Paradise, brighter than the sun and sweeter of smell than an offering of frankincense: even while it was [still] (a) far (land), | its fragrance was wafted [to them]. 4 Milk and honey were flowing [in it] profusely like water; and vines were planted all over the land, and its twigs spread over the seven heavens, and its grapes were full of never ceasing and imperishable delight. And when they saw [this], they rejoiced greatly. 5 And they said: "We have seen to-day wondrous and marvellous [things] which we never saw [before]. O our Lord [and] our Master, thy word is true, and all thy ways are straight, thou art in truth the king, O Lord." 6 And further they said unto Him: "Tell us, O our Master, to whom thou wilt give these things." 7 And he answered: "I will give this Paradise to those who do the will of my father and to my humble ones from whose hearts there comes no violence, and to those who believe and guard this my name. And to you also: take [it], for I have given [it] unto you as your inheritance." | 8 Then they thanked Him and praised Him, all united in singing a psalm. "By this thy name we have healed 187 sick men; by this thy name we have dispersed 7037 demons; by this thy name we have converted the 88 kings and the 140 cities; 9 by this thy name we have been saved from all the people of Sodom and Gomorrha and have made our fetters like fire and have made the fire cool like water, and those who reviled our name have been exterminated for ever and ever. 10 By this thy name we have destroyed 155 idols; by this thy name we have converted the 88 kings and the 140 cities, and we have exercised great power on earth. Not by our own power have we done this, but by thy power. 11 We believe in thy name which thou hast given us for conquering, and we worship thy power, who hast strengthened us; to thee be praise and thanks | for ever and ever, Amen!"

12 This book has not been written by the hand of men, but by our Saviour Himself who wrote it with His hand. 13 And if thou readst it, read it using (?) holy oil; and if thou art not able [to do so], read it using (?) pure oil; and it will bring thee perfect grace, and salvation of soul and body, and victory over the enemy. 14 May it bring perfect grace unto thy servant . . . . . 15 And all will be done unto thee by this prayer for ever and ever, Amen, Amen.

*The Vocabulary of Sumerian.*—By J. DYNELEY PRINCE,  
Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

§ I. THE study of the Sumerian vocabulary falls logically into three divisions. These are 1) the origin of the signs, 2) the etymology of the phonetic values, and 3) the elucidation of the many and varied primitive sign-meanings.

Professor Friedrich Delitzsch in his epoch-making work on the origin of the most ancient Babylonian system of writing<sup>1</sup> has paved the way for our thorough understanding of the principles which were followed by the fathers of the ancient precuneiform lineal style of inscription. Previous to Delitzsch's masterly work in this field, really no one had correctly understood the facts regarding the beginnings of the cuneiform writing. These are so overwhelmingly in favor of the linguistic character of Sumerian that they have caused Delitzsch himself to abandon the Halévyan "ideophonic" cryptographic hypothesis,<sup>2</sup> of which the distinguished German Assyriologist had formerly been an ardent adherent. Delitzsch's work, however, has thus far included only the study of the signs. He has made no attempt as yet to combine the examination of the signs with the investigation of the phonetic values, which it is necessary to do in order to arrive at the true nature of the Sumerian idiom as it has been handed down to us. The thorough examination of every sign is imperative, if we are ever to penetrate the mysteries of the highly difficult problem, but it is equally imperative that every phonetic value and word-combination be also studied, both in connection with the equivalent signs and with other allied phonetic values.

§ II. A most important point should now be noted. The etymological study of the Sumerian word-list is attended by

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<sup>1</sup> *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems oder der Ursprung der Keilschriftzeichen*, Fried. Delitzsch, Leipzig, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Halévy, J.A., vol. vi., sér. 3 (1874), pp. 461 seq.; *Comptes rendus*, vol. iv., sér. 3, p. 477; vol. iv., sér. 3, pp. 128, 130; J.A., vol. viii., sér. 7, pp. 201 seq. Also his book *Recherches critiques sur l'origine de la civilisation babylonienne*, Paris, 1876. See Weissbach, *Die sumerische Frage*, p. 188, for further references.



incalculable difficulties, because nearly all the Sumerian texts which we possess are written in an idiom which is too evidently under the influence of Semitic. With the exception of certain very ancient texts, such as those published by Professor Hilprecht in the OBL.<sup>1</sup> vol. I, i. and ii.<sup>2</sup> and probably also the Gudea inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> the Sumerian literature, consisting largely of religious material such as hymns and incantations, shows a number of Semitic loanwords and grammatical Semitisms and in many cases, although not always, is quite patently a translation of Semitic ideas by Semitic priests into the formal religious Sumerian language. We must believe that the Sumerian at a comparatively early date began to be used exclusively in the temples as the written vehicle of religious thought in much the same way as was the mediæval Latin of the Roman Church. Professor Paul Haupt may be termed the father of Sumerian etymology, as he was really the first to place this study on a scientific basis in his *Sumerian Family Laws*.<sup>4</sup> Professors Jensen and Zimmern<sup>4</sup> have done excellent work in the same field and, together with Haupt, have established the correct method of investigating the Sumerian vocables. These words should be studied only in relation to the Sumerian literature. They should on no account be regarded as being etymologically connected with words in the idioms of more recent peoples, and practically all such comparisons, for which there is really no sound basis, must be considered to belong to the realm of pure conjecture. Sumerian, as we know it up to the present time, stands alone, a prehistoric philological remnant, and its etymology should be studied only in the light which can be got from the Sumerian inscriptions themselves. It is, however, permissible to cite grammatical and constructional examples from other agglutinative idioms, whenever it becomes necessary to prove the true linguistic character of some Sumerian peculiarity.

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<sup>1</sup> *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*; I., pts. i-ii., H. V. Hilprecht, Philadelphia, 1893-1897.

<sup>2</sup> *The Great Cylinder Inscription A and B of Gudea*, by Ira Maurice Price, pt. 1, Leipzig, 1899.

<sup>3</sup> *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze*; also see his Sumerian grammar in ASKT., pp. 133-147.

<sup>4</sup> Jensen in ZA. and elsewhere; Zimmern, especially in *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der altbabylonischen Religion*.



For example, it is probable, as I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> that *tones* existed in the primitive spoken Sumerian, not only for the distinction of similar sounding words, but also for the purpose of differentiating between the various grammatical elements. As this latter phase of linguistic tones is practically unknown and might militate against the real linguistic nature of the Sumerian in the eyes of the Halévyan school, I have cited the existence of genuine *grammatical* tones in the African Yórùba language, simply for the purpose of demonstrating a linguistic parallel.<sup>2</sup> In the same manner, the existence of the incorporated object in the verb may be paralleled by referring to other languages exhibiting these phenomena. On no account, however, should one venture to assume a linguistic affinity between Sumerian and any of these idioms, nor is it possible to connect Sumerian as yet with any language by dint of probably accidental verbal similarities.

§ III. It is really not at all surprising that the Halévyan theory as to the cryptographic nature of Sumerian arose. The first impression given by the distracting tangle of the Sumerian word-list is the conviction that it would be impossible for such a vocabulary to exist in any regularly developed language. Here one finds the same sign denoting pages of meanings, many of which are seemingly unconnected with any others belonging to the sign in question. There is also, in a great number of cases, a multiplicity of meanings attributed, apparently arbitrarily, to the same sound-value or word. For example, some scholars have asked very pertinently: how could any *real* language give the same sound-value to a great variety of meanings? Besides all this, there are, as indicated above, many passages containing Sumerian words which strikingly resemble the Semitic equivalents and which seem to be mere arbitrary perversions of Semitic originals.<sup>3</sup> All these facts taken by themselves would be suffi-

<sup>1</sup> AJSL., xix., n. 4, p. 205.

<sup>2</sup> AJSL., xix., n. 4, pp. 205-6.

<sup>3</sup> Let us take only two cases cited by Fried. Delitzsch in his *Assyrische Grammatik*, p. 62, at the time when he was a follower of the Halévyan theory: BAL = *palû* 'royal insignium, reign-year.' The original meaning of BAL is 'open, break through,' and from this come the undoubtedly Semitic developments 'proceed powerfully, be hostile, oppress, destroy, cross over; dig, draw water, be sunken; axe, wall-breaker, spindle,' and finally, 'royal insignium,' = an instrument like an axe (?),

cient to convince most philologists that we have to deal here with an arbitrarily arranged cryptogram rather than with a language. I repeat "if taken by themselves," but the main point is that these phenomena *cannot* be taken by themselves. They are mere superficial evidences of deliberate later interference with the growth of the language, introduced by a priesthood who spoke a radically different idiom—Semitic Babylonian—but who had for religious reasons adopted the Sumerian as their formal written vehicle. The proof of the original linguistic character of Sumerian is found in the copious evidence presented by even the latest and most Semitised Sumerian texts.

§ IV. Briefly considered, there are four striking proofs that the Sumerian literature is based on a primitive language:

1. Sumerian has unmistakable internal phonetic variations, especially between the two main dialects *Eme-ku* and *Eme-sal*, and also within the *Eme-ku* itself.<sup>1</sup> These show a distinct development of sound, which may have been peculiar to different periods in the growth of the language.<sup>2</sup> The most noteworthy sound-changes between EK. and ES. are as follows: EK. *g* = ES. *m*; thus EK. *gir* 'foot' = ES. 'mēri'; EK. *g* = ES. *b*;

which word came to mean later the 'reign-year of the king.' It is highly probable that *palū* is a Sumerian loanword in Semitic from BAL (*bal*). Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that the Sum. value *buru*, originally 'depression, hollow' is a perversion of Sem. כַּאֲר 'a pit,' but, on the contrary, that כַּאֲר 'pit' (Assyr. *bāru*, *bārtu* 'well'), owing to its resemblance to Sum. *buru* started the chain of ideas which swelled the number of later equivalents of *bur* (= the corner-wedge) to more than forty! Mnemonic paronomasia, the deliberate association of Semitic words with Sumerian words similar in sound, played a most important rôle in the formation of the Sumerian syllabaries. This point will be treated of in a subsequent paper and in my forthcoming Lexicon. It is, of course, doubtful in some cases, whether the Sumerian value is not really a deliberate perversion of the Semitic word on the part of Semitic priests who had lost the original Sumerian equivalent. In this connection, cf. *egir* = *arku* 'rear,' where Sum. *egir* looks like a metathesis of *arku*. On the other hand, the Semites borrowed far more from the Sumerian vocabulary than conversely, a fact which has been admirably demonstrated by Pontus Leander (see this article, p. 52, note 2).

<sup>1</sup> For my opinions in regard to EK. and ES., see JAOS., xxiv., pp. 105 ff. (The Hymn to Bélit. K. 257). Cf. also Leander, *op. cit.* (pp. 83 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Pontus Leander, *Über die sumerischen Lehnwörter im Assyrischen*, Uppsala, 1903.

thus, EK. *duga* 'knee' = ES. *zēba*. I believe that there were two *g*'s in EK., i. e. 1) a nasal *g* (*ng*) = ES. *m*, which was probably not a clear *m*, but a nasal labial obscuration as in modern Gaelic *lamh* 'hand'; 2) there must also have been a genuine hard *g* represented by ES. *b*, as just indicated. There is also an EK. *g* which varies to *d* in ES., thus, EK. *igi* 'eye, face' = ES. *idē* (cf. EK. *gar* = *da-ar*, V. 11, 28b). In the vowels, we find also EK. *u* = ES. *ē*, as EK. *tu* 'dove' = ES. *tē*. A very curious consonantal interchange is EK. *n* = ES. *š*, as EK. *nēr* 'ruler' = ES. *šēr*. EK. *n* also = ES. *l*, as EK. *šudun* 'yoke' = ES. *šudul*. The so-called dialectic variations within the limits of EK. itself consist chiefly of elision of final consonants, as in the very numerous instances where we find such double values as *pag*, *pa* = XU, *gig*, *ge* = MI, *gud*, *gu* = GUD, etc. Leander (see above, p. 52, n. 2) has written an elaborate treatise on this subject, in which he assumes, following Jensen, that the fuller forms, i. e. *pag*, *gig*, *gud* are the more ancient ones. In other words, he believes that the dialectic differentiation within the EK. is a temporal one. The question is very difficult, as we find occasionally the full and the apocopated form of the same word in the same sentence. Thus, *ad-a-ni šu-gar-ra gá* = *mutir gimillu ābišu* 'one who avenges his father' (Br. 7261). Here *šugarra* = *gimillu* 'vengeance,' lit. 'to make (*gar*) power (*šu*).' The word occurs in combination with the shorter form *gá* (from *gar* 'he makes'), i. e. 'he makes *šugarra* = vengeance.' If *gar* belonged to one dialect and *gá* to another, should we find them together in this way? It is possible, of course, that the older *gar*-form survived in the compound instead of in the verb-form. All these phonetic changes are widely different to those seen in Semitic and evidently depend on quite different principles. Certainly no cryptogram based on Semitic could exhibit such phonetic phenomena as we have here.

2. Sumerian has a system of vowel harmony strikingly similar to that seen in all modern agglutinative languages and it has also vocalic dissimilation like that found in modern Finnish. Vowel harmony is the intentional bringing together of vowels of the same class for the sake of greater euphony, while vocalic dissimilation is the deliberate insertion of another class of vowel, in order to prevent the disagreeable monotony arising from too prolonged a vowel harmony. The following few examples will

suffice to prove that we have here real linguistic phenomena, although the number of instances might be increased *ad nauseam*. Thus, IV. 30, obv. 2, 22: *in-di in-di gaba kur-ra = illak il(l)ak ana irat irgitim* 'he goeth, he goeth unto the bosom of the earth.' Here we find the soft form *di = du* 'to go,' in harmony with the vowel prefix *in-*. In IV. 30, 19-20b-23-4b: *nam-ba-ab-bi-en = lá taqabbi* 'speak not to him,' but IV. 11, 31-3: *nu-mu-un-nib-bi = ul iqabbi* 'he speaks not to him.' Cf. also HT. 126, obv. 53-4: *mu-un-nu-ab-bi-e-ne* 'they shall speak to him.' In *nambabbien*, the neg. prefix *nam* and the infix *bab* are in harmony, and in dissimilation to the stem *bi*. In *numun-nibbi*, the neg. prefix *nu* and the verbal prefix *mun* are in harmony, while the infix *nib* is in harmony with the stem *bi*, both being in dissimilation to the prefixes. The same phenomenon is seen in *munabbienne*. Furthermore, in IV. 9, 28a we find *an-sud-dam = kima šamē* 'like the heavens,' where *dam* stands as a dialectic variant for the usual *gin* (EK. *g* = ES. *d*).<sup>1</sup> In Turkish and Finnish the vowel harmony is based on similar principles. Thus, Tk. *bağajak* 'he will look,' but *sevejek* 'he will love.' In Finnish *työhön, töihin, kylähän* all occur with soft vowels. Dissimilation really exists in spoken Turkish in such forms as *al-di-lar* for *aldular* 'they have taken,' but it is not recognized by the grammarians. In Finnish, however, we find it in full force as *patoja* for *pataja*, *annoin* for *annain* (see Eliot's *Finnish Grammar*, pp. xii. 9-10). A cryptogram with vowel harmony could only have been invented by persons who spoke a language exhibiting this phenomenon, which is certainly not present in Semitic.

3. The Sumerian postpositions are used almost exactly like those in Turkish and Finnish. Thus, Sum. *é-da* 'in (*da*) the house (*é*) = Tk. *evde* (*de* = 'in'); Sum. *ad-da-na-ru* 'unto (*ru*) his (*na*) father (*ad-da*) = Tk. *baba-sy-na*; *baba* = 'father'; *sy* = 'his'; *n* is the phonetically inserted consonant and *a* is the postposition 'unto.' Here it should be noted that the Sumerian custom of placing a postposition after a noun and its qualifying adjective has a perfect parallel in both Turkish and Finnish. Thus, *a-ab-ba-ki-nin-dagal-la-(a)-šú* = 'on (*šú*) the sea (*a-ab-ba*) and the wide (*nindagalla*) earth (*ki*'); Tk.: *deniz* (sea) *ve* (and)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Prince, *AJSL* xix., n. 4, p. 207, s. v. *zi-zi-de* 'before thee,' where *zi* is explained as a probable by-form of *za-e* 'thou.'

*biguk* (great) *arz* (earth) *azerinde* (upon); Finnish: *paljaan taivaan alla* 'under (*alla*) the open heaven' (see Eliot, *Finnish Grammar*, p. 205). In all these cases the postposition is regarded as qualifying both the noun and the adjective. A full discussion of the Sumerian postpositions will be found HT. p. 141 § 11. Prepositions, although rare, are found both in Sumerian and Finnish (see HT. 141 § 14 and Eliot, *op. cit.* pp. 203 ff.). Postpositive inflexion is as foreign to Semitic as is vowel harmony and could not possibly have been invented by Semitic cryptographers.

4. I have discussed at some length elsewhere the Sumerian verbal prefixes (see AJSL. xix. No. 4, pp. 206 ff.). It will be sufficient to note here that the incorporation of the verbal object, which is the only method in Sumerian of expressing the pronominal object, has its parallel in other languages of the agglutinative type. Thus in Basque, the present tense is never without the object 'it' = *d*, as *dakart* = *d-ekart* 'I bear it' ('I' = *i*; 'bear' = *ekar*; 'it' = *d*).<sup>1</sup> Practically the same peculiarity is seen also in the American languages. Thus in the Algonquin Abenaki: *k'namiol* 'I (*i*) see (*nam*) you (*-k*)' (Prince, *Miscellaneous Linguistica Ascoliana*, p. 357, Turin, 1901). The same peculiarity appears in the modern Latin idioms as in French *je l'aime* 'I love him'; Ital. and Span. *io (yo) l'amo*, although these are inflexional languages! To suppose that Semitic priests, who could have been familiar only with their own tongue, should have departed in a cryptogram so far as this from their natural suffixed object is the height of absurdity.

§ V. Furthermore, one does not have to go far to seek real linguistic cryptograms and secret idioms. We have several such in English, perhaps the best known of which is the so-called costermongers' back-slang which has existed for a long time as a semi-jocose jargon among the small tradesmen of certain sections of London. In this dialect they say: *cool the delo taoc* 'look at the old coat'; 'potatoes' are *rattats* (backwards for 'tatur') and a Jew is a *Wedge!*<sup>2</sup> This kind of transposition or rebus is peculiar to a number of secret languages. Such an idiom exists in modern Arabic, especially among school

<sup>1</sup> See Van Eys, *The Basque Language*, 1883, pp. 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> I have heard vagabonds speak this jargon so rapidly that it was quite impossible to follow their meaning.

children, who say *fuj el-lājir* for *šuf er-rajl* 'look at the man.' Also in the Spanish thieves language we find such inversions as *tapla* for *plata* 'silver'; *denias* for *medias* 'stockings,' etc. Similar transpositions occur in certain phases of French Argot as *loffe* for *folle* 'mad' (fem.). Most interesting in this connection is the secret idiom of the Irish tinkers which is in use in this country and in England at the present day. This jargon, which has long been a puzzle to philologists, is now definitely established as being fundamentally Irish Gaelic inverted, although not always with absolute correctness. Thus they say *leicín* 'girl' for Irish *cailín*; *mailya* 'hand' for Irish *lanh*, etc.<sup>1</sup> I cannot leave this curious subject of secret languages without alluding to the incantation language of the Greenland Eskimo enchanters. In this idiom, which is in conventional ritualistic use in all incantations, we really find what Halévy and his followers believe they have discovered in Sumerian, i. e. a priestly system of disguising the ordinary speech. This Eskimo shamans' language consists partly of descriptive terms such as 'boiling place' for 'kettle,' 'dwelling' for 'house,' 'tusked-one' for 'walrus,' etc., and partly of deliberately chosen archaic expressions which are easily recognizable by comparison with other Eskimo dialects.<sup>2</sup> *In none of these jargons do we find any grammatical development other than that of the language on which they are based.*

§ VI. This is all to the point in connection with Sumerian, because these very principles of inversion and substitution have been cited as being the basis of many of the Sumerian combinations. Deliberate inversion certainly occurs in the Sumerian inscriptions and it is highly probable that this was a priestly mode of writing, but never of speaking, at any rate not when the language was in current use. It is not necessary to suppose, however, that this device originated with the Semitic priesthood.

<sup>1</sup> The late Charles G. Leland was the first to bring this jargon to the attention of scholars (*Gypsies*, 1886, pp. 354 ff.). Kuno Meyer, in a letter to me written in 1896, says: "(It) is a kind of back-slang of the Irish (Gaelic) language. It is evidently not a modern invention, but something like it has been practised among the Irish ever since the eleventh century at least. I now believe that the idea was taken from the late Latin grammarians, but have not worked this out." Mr. Meyer wrote a paper on the Tinkers' language, which appeared in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, vol. ii (now extinct).

<sup>2</sup> This information was kindly given me by Prof. Franz Boas of Columbia University.



It is quite conceivable that the still earlier Sumerian priesthood invented the method of orthographic inversion which, as I have already shown, is the very first device which suggests itself to the primitive mind when endeavoring to express itself in a manner out of the ordinary. Evident inversions are, for example, the name of the fire-god *Gibil*, which was written *Bil-gi*. *Gi* means 'a reed' and *bil* (NE)<sup>1</sup> 'fire,' so that the combination must have meant 'a fire-brand.' We find also *Girsu* for *Sugir*, *Lugal-si-kisal* for *Lugal-kisal-si*, *Šir-la-bur* for *Šir-bur-la* and *En-zu-na* for *Zu-en-na*.

Especially worthy of mention is the common inversion found in the ancient style of writing the word for 'ocean,' i. e. *zu-ab*, quite evidently for *ab-zu* 'sea of wisdom,' the abode of Ea, the god of wisdom. The Semitic Babylon *apsā* and all its Semitic derivatives was in all probability a loanword from the Sumerian theological vocabulary. The Semitic form *apsā* is in itself definite proof that the Sumerian word was pronounced *abzu* and not *zu-ab*, as written. *Ab* (*ab-ba*) is the usual word for 'sea,' often written *a-ab-ba*=*tiāntu*. It is possible, though not certain, that this *ab* (*ab-ba*) was connected with the Sumerian expression for 'water'=a (*vide infra* § VIII). *Zu* meant primarily 'knowledge'=*nimēqu*, V. 30, 48 a; II. 16, 65 a. The original sign for *zu* was the element 'great' written inside of an eye, i. e. 'to be great of eye or perception,' hence 'to know' (Delitzsch, *System*, p. 138). The well known equivalent *bīt nimēqi* 'house of wisdom' for *zu-ab* depends on a later misunderstanding of this value *ab* (Leander, *op. cit.*, p. 5). The scribes evidently confused it with *ab*<sup>2</sup> 'dwelling.'

<sup>1</sup> The oldest form of the sign for 'fire' (probably ca. 6500 B. C.) has recently been discovered in the General Theological Seminary (N. Y.) collection of Assyrian antiquities and brought to my attention by Mr.

Robert Lau. This sign is , which is quite evidently a con-

fimation of Prof. Delitzsch's view (*System*, p. 178) that the fire-sign represented the generation of flame by turning one piece of wood against another after the manner of some modern savages. The sign just given seems to me to be the pictograph of such a primitive fire-producing instrument, i. e. it represents the straight tinder sticks against which the bowl-like end provided with a handle was rapidly rubbed. The sign is used as a suffix *-ne* in the inscription (see Barton, JAOS. xxiii. p. 28).

<sup>2</sup> *AB* has also the value *ēš* 'dwelling,' which was probably the full form of *ē*=*bītu* 'house.'



There are five distinct words *ab* in the Sumerian vocabulary; viz., *ab*<sup>1</sup> (AB) 'enclosure, dwelling,' from which we have the Sem. *aptu* 'birdsnest' (Hwb. 111). The sign AB was archaically a pictograph of a space. It is probable that *aptu* is a Semitic loanword from this *ab*<sup>1</sup>. *Ab*<sup>2</sup> (AB) = *tāmtu* 'sea,' Sc. 95 *et passim*, which meaning may be an extension of the original sense of space, i. e. the sea is the space *par excellence*. When written *a-ab-ba* we must translate it 'water-space.' Closely connected here is *ab*<sup>3</sup> = *arax* *Tēbētu* = Sum. *itu ab-ba-ul-du* 'the month of the coming forth of water, the month of floods.' *Tēbēt* is from Sem. *tebū* 'dip, sink in' cf. II. 49, 4 e, for variants of this month-name, and see Muss-Arnolt, JBL. xi. 170. Also *ab*<sup>4</sup> = *amēl irrišu* 'cultivator' or 'irrigator' (in this sense ערש has the meaning 'to plant,') but *amēl irrišu* has also the Sum. equivalent PIN = *engar* = Sem. *ikkaru* 'husbandman.' It is possible, as I have just indicated, that *ab* = *tāmtu* 'sea' was really a cognate in fuller form of *a* = 'water' and that it was associated in the AB group owing to the earlier scribes arbitrarily connecting *ab* = *tāmtu* with the idea of 'space, dwelling.' The third *ab*<sup>5</sup> (AB) = *abu* 'father' in several passages. Here the question at once arises as to whether this *ab*<sup>5</sup> may not be a Semitic loanword in Sumerian, but too hasty a judgment regarding it should not be formed. It is probable that *ab*<sup>5</sup> = *abu* 'father' is the *ab* seen in *ab-gal* = *abkalhum* 'leader' (cf. 32-8-16, 1. col. i. 31: *nin-me* = *ab-ga-al*). This *ab* means also *nasiku* 'prince,' Br. 3820, and also, probably owing to Semitic influence, *šibu* 'an old man,' Br. 3821 (cf. *nam-ab-ba* = *šibātu* 'old age,' II. 33, 10 c). I am strongly inclined to believe that the original sense of this *ab*<sup>5</sup> was *nasiku* 'prince,' and that this word was transferred to *abu* 'father, leader' by Semitic analogy (*ab*<sup>5</sup> = *šibu* 'an elder,' as noted above). The fourth *ab*<sup>6</sup> is the value attached to the sign LIT, Sb. 254; *ab* = *arzu* 'road, way.' This sign probably indicated the lines of a road + the corner-wedge denoting compactness, i. e. 'a highway' = *arzu*. The same sign with the value *lit* = Sem. *littu* 'offspring.' Here the sign must have been applied with the idea of 'pairing,' obtained from the same double lines. The value *lit* for this sign is undoubtedly of Semitic origin from *littu*, as is also the value *rim* no doubt suggested by *rimu* 'the womb,' owing to association with *littu*, although LIT is not the sign for 'womb.' Finally, in this connection, the fifth *ab*<sup>7</sup> (AB)

is the *ab* of the pronominal suffix of the third person, probably cognitive with the verbal prefix *ab*- and the possessive suffix *-bi*.

These five values of *ab* certainly seem to indicate that when the language was a spoken idiom there must have been tone differentiation in this case. In Chinese, for example, we find the following four tones for the syllable *mo*, i. e. *mo*<sup>1</sup> 'feel, touch'; *mo*<sup>2</sup> 'grind, rub'; *mo*<sup>3</sup> 'obliterate,' and *mo*<sup>4</sup> 'afterwards, at last' (Stent's Chinese and English Vocabulary, pp. 417-18).<sup>1</sup> Here the first three *mo*'s are certainly variations of the same fundamental idea. In the same way, it is quite possible to believe that *ab*<sup>1</sup> 'dwelling,' *ab*<sup>2</sup> 'sea,' *ab*<sup>3</sup> 'leader,' and *ab*<sup>4</sup> 'road' formed four distinct tones. *Ab*<sup>1</sup> 'dwelling' and *ab*<sup>2</sup> 'sea,' however, may have been uttered with the same tone. This would leave the grammatical *ab*, prefix and suffix, to have the fourth tone (eight tones are physically possible) or else we may assume that it was pronounced like any one of the *ab*-tones just conjectured, since its position in the sentence-construction could leave no doubt as to its meaning. Of course nothing certain can be postulated with regard to Sumerian tones. If they existed at all, as they must have done if Sumerian was ever spoken, they must have died out at a very early date, so soon as the language began to be the purely written ceremonial language of the Semitic priests. In cases where an astounding multiplicity of meanings are assigned to the same phonetic value, the tone theory does not, of course, solve the problem entirely. In such instances, as the meanings in the following word-list attributed to the value *a* (*e*), the most we can do is to collect the fundamental ideas belonging to the sign and word and assume that each of these *ideas* was originally represented by a distinct tone. It is curious to note that in every such example the number of conjectural fundamental tones never exceeds the possible number eight, the physical tone limit.

<sup>1</sup> This information was kindly given me by Prof. Fried. Hirth of Columbia University. Sentence tones occur in English and other European languages expressing doubt, interrogation, surprise, etc. Perhaps the best illustration of tones in a European idiom is seen in modern Swedish, where actual differentiation in meaning is expressed by difference of tone. Thus, *han är i brunnen* (rising and falling tone) 'he is in the well,' but *han är brunnen* (falling and rising tone) 'he is burned,' although this distinction is not invariably observed. The speakers often leave the sense to be understood by the context.

§ VIII. In order to illustrate more thoroughly these perplexing difficulties, let us take the sign A, which in both Babylonian and Assyrian is a later development of the earlier conventionalized pictograph of water moved by the wind, i. e. the wave *motif* (Delitzsch, *System*, p. 130). The sign A, which is named *āu* (V. 22, 43 a) after its most important sound value, has six different phonetic equivalents; viz., *a*, *me*, *bur* (*pur*), *e*, *dur* (*duru*) and *id*, arranged in the order of their respective importance. There can be no doubt that the sign originally meant simply 'water' and yet in Brünnow's List there are two full pages of meanings devoted to the simple A, a careful analysis of which will serve to elucidate the principles followed by the Semitic compilers of the later Sumerian syllabary.

A. I divide the meanings of A (*a*, *me*) into four groups as follows :

1. The water-group (from *a*=*mā* 'water'; see below).

A (*a*=*butuqtu* 'overflow,' only V. 22, 49a (Br. 11331). *Butuqtu* also=*a-tar* V. 31, 30e (Br. 11382); lit. 'water cutting through' *tar*=*batāqu* 'cut through' (Del. *System*, p. 102); *a-xul* (IV. 26, 19a); lit. 'evil (*xul*) water.'

A (*a*)=*dīmtu* 'tear,' only DT. 67, obv. 12; usually *a-igi* (*er*) 'water of the eye' (Br. 11609).

A (*a*)=*mašgītu* 'irrigation,' only V. 50, 52 (*u-a*=*rītu u mašgītu* 'food and drink').

A (*a-a*)=*mīlu*, from *ēla* 'go up,' 'high water,' usually *a-lig* 'strong water' (Br. 11538), with value *ēla*, perhaps *ē-ba* (?). If the Sum. word is *ēla*, it may be a loanword from Sem. *ēlā* 'go up.' *Mīlu* also=*a-kur* 'water of the land'; *mīlu ma'du* 'great flood, II. 39, 9g. There is unquestionably a Semitic paronomasia between *kur* (read *mat*) in Sem., and *ma'du*!

A (*me*)=*mā* 'water,' Br. 11347 *passim*.

A (*a*)=*nāqu* 'lament' connected with *dīmtu* 'tear' (only II. 45, 35e; Sa. vi. 25). The phonetic value *a* is not given, but is probably understood. Note the value *aš*(*tīl*)=*tavāqātum*, V. 40, 10gh 'a lament.'

A (*me*)=*raṣācu* 'inundate, wash out,' only V. 22, 76a, Br. 11351 (also RI-RI and RA, the latter probably mnemonically associated with *raṣācu*).

A (*me*)=*ruḫbu* 'moisture' (Br. 11358).

All these meanings derived from A=*mā* are evidently Semitic attempts to synonymize the idea 'water,' and this appears

especially true in cases where the synonym has a more usual Sumerian equivalent of its own, as *dintu* 'tear,' ordinarily=A. ŠI (*er*).<sup>1</sup>

2. Closely connected with this idea of 'water, moisture' is the second group of meanings applying to copulation. Here it should be noted that the word 'water' is used in Arabic for *semen*, i. e. Egypt. Arab. *moiyet el āb* 'seed of the father' (cf. also Heb. מַיִם, probably=the same). I consider that this whole second group was of Semitic origin.

A (*a-a*)=*abu* Br. 11324, *passim*. The word for 'father' is also *ad-da*=AD, the primitive sense of which is 'dwelling-protector,' also *azu* 'brother' means 'protector' (Br. 1142); viz., 'the protector of the house' (see Delitzsch, *System*, p. 58). I am inclined to see in *ad-da*=*a-a* 'father' a paronomasia. *A-a* 'father' may be the softened form for *ad-da*, a phenomenon seen in modern Cuban Spanish *hablao* for *hablado* 'spoken.' This *a-a* pronunciation for *ad-da* may have occurred dialectically. Then the pronunciation *a-a*=*ad-da* may have suggested to the scribes the word *a* 'water, semen' and they accordingly wrote it with the water-sign A, i. e. 'father'='the seed producer.' Cf. here *a-a-a*=*abi abi* 'grandfather,' II. 32, 61c. As *a-a* also='grandson' (see below in this section), this derivation was probably made at a time when the language had become purely orthographic.

A (*a*)=*amelātu* 'human kind' (Br. 11326), plainly a derivative from the idea 'seed' (see Akk. Spr. xxxviii). The usual ideogram has the value *gišgal*=ES. *mulu*=*amelātu*.

A (*a*)=*aphu* 'son' (Br. 11328). In 11344 A( )*a*=*māru* 'son' and AL. 314 *a-a*=*binbini* 'grandson.' These, like the preceding word, are variants of the idea 'seed.'

A (*a-a*)=*ērā* 'be pregnant' Br. 11333 (*Hwb.* 130). The origin of this in connection with 'seed' is perfectly patent. The regular ideogram is the sign having the value *peš* (Br. 8101), i. e. *šā* 'interior,' with the water-sign A written inside !

<sup>1</sup> A. ŠI.=*a-igi* 'water of the eye,' hence 'tear'=*er*. This *er* is a by-form of the word *eš*, which is also a value of A. ŠI. The etymological connection between *er* and *eš* is clear, i. e. *r*=*š*.

<sup>2</sup> Even though מַיִם might have been a derivative and not a compound word (Gray, *Proper Names*, p. 25), the narrative of Gen. xix. 34 ff. shows that its popular etymology at least was 'seed (water) of the father,' a proof that 'water' was used in this sense in ancient Hebrew, as it is to-day in Arabic.

A (*a-a*, *me*)=*banā* 'beget' (V. 22, 60; 72 abd). Another word is *nud*=*banū*, Sc. 51. The Heb. בנה also has the sense 'beget.'

A (*a*)=*igratu*, V. 21, 4 (Br. 11338), probably 'figure, image,' connected with יצר (D. Prol. 33).

A (*a*, *me*)=*lubšu*, V. 22, 62a (Br. 11341). This word does not mean 'garment,' but must denote 'offspring, brood' (cf. *libištu*, *Job.* 372). Also V. 37, 10def, we find the corner-wedge=*šu-uš*=*šugū šu lubši* 'to moisten, said of *lubšu*.' This must have a sexual signification.

A (*a*)=*rixātu* 'sexual love,' Br. 11353 (cf. *marxātu* 'wife,' the usual ideogram of which is XI-NIR, perhaps='excellent (XI.)' in size (NIR).)

A (*a*)=*rikibtu*, Br. 11354, a synonym of *rixātu* 'sexual love' (*Job.* 620). The word *rikibtu*, lit. 'mounting,' is from *rakābu* 'ride astride of.' Hence we have the next value:

A (*a*)=*rakābu* 'ride astride,' only IV. 11, 41a and HT. 220; *ba-a*=*irkab* and *ba-an-da-a*=*irtakab*. See Br. 11352.

A=*galu ša raxē* 'one who copulates,' Br. 11359. *Galū* is from *galātu* 'to lie down to sleep,' here especially with a woman, a syn. of *utulu* 'sleep' in general.

A (*a*)=*mailu* 'seat, bed,' Br. 11343, a variant of the idea 'lying down.' Usual ideogram is *nā* and *ki-nā* 'place for lying down' (*Job.* 406).

A (*a*)=*nāxu* 'rest' (Br. 11349), a word from the same idea as *mailu*.

A (*a*)=*pašāxu* 'to be pacified, quiet, at rest.' This *a* is probably a synonym here in connection with *mailu*, *nāxu*. The value *ē* (*ud-du*) 'go out' also=*pašāxu* in the sense 'recover from a sickness' (cf. French; *sortir de maladie*) and it is highly likely that *a*=*pašāxu* is a paronomasia from *ē*=*pašāxu*, especially as the values *a* and *e* interchange (see below, this section D).

3. A third group of meanings formed more directly from the wave idea is represented by the following word denoting 'effulgence.'

בנה 'build a house,' i.e. 'form a family,' a paronomasia on בן son; cf. Gen. xvi. 2; xxx. 3; אֲבִנָּה מִמֶּנָּה 'I shall be built up by her' (a childless wife by means of a concubine). This use of בנה probably occurs in ψ cxxvii. 1: 'except Jhv̄h build the house, they labour in vain that build it.' This, according to Prof. Haupt in his lectures on the Psalms of the Return, was an allusion to Nehemiah's inability to בנה בניי, following the theory that Nehemiah was a eunuch.

A (a)=*ebbu* 'shining, glistening, effulgent' (Br. 11335) perhaps also with the value *dur* (see below this, section E). This notion must have been developed from the shining ripples of water. In Turkish *sâ*=both 'water' and also 'the lustre of a jewel', (Redhouse, *Turkish and English Lexicon*, p. 1188). In English also we speak of gems of the *first water*. Here it should be noted that *za*=*abnu* 'stone' (Br. 11721) is also a derivative like A (a) from the wave-motif and probably had the meaning 'shining stone' or 'jewel' (see Delitzsch, *System*, p. 130).

4. Finally in this connection in the last A (a, me) group we find A (a) as a mere ending of the *status pronominalis*.

A (a-a)=*anâku* 'I,' V. 22, 69a only (Br. 11327).

A (a-a)=*atta* 'thou,' V. 22, 70a only (Br. 11329). A (a) occurs also *passim* in the third person (see Br. p. 548). Here should be placed the indefinite form *a*, seen most commonly as a verbal prefix (Prince, *AJSL*. xix. p. 211). It is unnecessary with Jensen (*ZA*. i. 61) to connect this *a* with *me*=*mên*<sup>1</sup> the verb 'to be' used with all three persons, because this *a* is also a common verbal prefix, evidently with the value *a* and not *mê*, and may indicate all three persons; cf. HT. 123, rev. 1: *a-rab-tag-tag*=*aptašilki* 'I implore thee' (fem.) (Prince, *loc. cit.*).

The ending *-a*=*ana-ina* 'unto, into,' Br. 11364-5 *passim*, is an element which is probably connected with *a*=*azulap* 'how long,' Br. 11325, mostly in ES. texts (*IHeb.* 44). The usual ideogram for *azulap* is *sux-a*, HT. 122, obv. 12 (Zb. 28; HT. 115, rev. 5). This *-a* seems to denote 'duration' and to be cognate with the *status prolongationis* (HT. 135 § 4). It should be noted that when the sign A was used in making combinations, its sound value was always *a*.

A (a)=*xamâtu* only V. 30, 62a (Br. 11384). This is an error, as the *a* here is only the *a* of prolongation for *surug-a*=*xamâtu ša kabâbi* 'to burn, said of consuming by fire.'

The original tones of A (a) must have been identical with the four idea-groups just indicated (see below, this section F, on ID=*a*).

B. The value A (*mê*) must now be considered. This has the meanings *banû* 'beget' (Br. 11330), *lubšu* 'offspring' (Br. 11341), *mû* 'water' (Br. 11347), *razâgu* 'inundate' (Br.

<sup>1</sup> On *mên*=all three persons, see Prince, *AJSL*. xix., n. 4, pp. 206; 226



11351), *rimæu* meaning unknown, but must be connected with 'water' (Br. 11355), and *ruṭbu* 'moisture' (Br. 11358), all of which except *rimæu* have been considered under A (*a*). I believe that this value *mē* is a later Semitic loan-value from *mā*, pl. *mē* 'water.' Note that *band*, *lubšu*, *ruṭbu* also have the value *a*.

C. The value *bur*=A Br. 11318 is seen only in the name of the Euphrates A-rat (Br. 11444; AL. 313), which was evidently pronounced *Burat*. The regular Sumerian ideogram for this river was ID. UD. KIB. NUN. KI (Br. 11662), i. e. 'the river of Sippar'=UD. KIB. NUN. KI=Sum. *Zimbar*, V. 23, 29, probably the original form of the Semitic name *Sippar*. Another Sumerian word for the Euphrates was *Buranunu* 'the great (*nunu*) river (*bur*)'. This word *bur* is undoubtedly the same *bur*=BUR and also=the corner-wedge. It means 'vessel, receptacle, hollow,' hence 'river-bed.' From *Buranunu* no doubt comes the Semitic form *Purattu*, i. e. simply 'river'=*bur*+the feminine ending *-tu*. Therefore, when we find A-rat=*Purattu*, it must be assumed that the water-sign A was pressed into service here to denote the water *kar* <sup>ἔξοχόν</sup>, in lieu of the longer ideogram. The Heb. פֶּרַת, not attested with certainty before DJe;<sup>2</sup> Greek Ἐνφράτης, Old Persian *Ufratu* (Spiegel APK. 211), must all be derivatives from Assyrian *Purattu*. The modern Turkish *Murad-su* 'water of Murad'=Euphrates is undoubtedly a popular variation of the original Arabic *Frat*! In II. 48, 47; 50, 8; 51, 26, we find the form *Uruttu*=*Purattu*. *Uruttu* is probably a derivative from *arādu* 'descend' and the form may be regarded as a later Semitic paronomasia on *Purattu*.

D. A has the value *e* in a number of passages, owing to vowel harmony and also to dissimilation. In K. 4225, dupl. 6, *a*=*e*, which simply indicates that *a* may occasionally have the value *e* as circumstances require.

A (*e*) occurs in II. 29, 20a, *a-nigin* (*a*=*e*), probably=*palgu* 'canal,' lit. 'collection (*nigin*) of waters' (Br. 11676).

<sup>1</sup> The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, I., pts. i-ii., H. V. Hilprecht, Philadelphia, 1893-1897.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Francis Brown (Robinson's) *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, p. 832 s. v. פֶּרַת.

<sup>3</sup> See Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Lexicon*, s. v. *uruttu*.



A (e) in ASKT. 75, n. 4, *a-gim* has as its gloss *e-gi-me*=*pašācu* (see this section A. 2, *a=pašācu*), a plain instance of vowel harmony (Br. 11321).

The following cases of *A=e* are owing to vocalic dissimilation:

A (e) occurs in V. 40, 1 and 4 e; *u-a-(e)*=*šaḡulum* (?) and *šaua*. This is doubtful, as the meanings of the equivalents are unknown (Br. 6092).

A (e) is seen in II. 32, 13 g; *a-gi*(MI)-*a*=*e-ga-a*=*agā* 'flood'; lit. 'black (MI) water' (Br. 11593).

A (e) is found II. 39, 7 g; *a-lig*(KAL)=*e-la* or *e-ba*=*mīlu* 'high water' (see above, this section A. 1), Br. 11538.

A (e) appears II. 32, 52: *a-ma-e-du* (*du*=TU) 'the womb that bears.' We expect *ama* 'womb,' + *a-du*. This sign for 'womb' *ama* (*dagal*) also=*rīmu* 'womb,' IV. 9, 24a. Now the real sign *ama*(AM)=*rīmu* 'a bull,' so that there is probably a deliberate paronomasia in this instance.

E. The fifth value of A is *dur*=*labāku*, found only II. 43, 30 e, a doubtful word which is associated with *azal* and *narabu* (cf. the form *tulabbak*, C. 45, v. 2). Here it should be noted that *a* and *ku* both=*dur*. The god *Sin*=*dingir a-ku*, II. 48, 48 a and also *dingir tur-ku* (*dumugu*). This seems to prove the *dur* value for A. In V. 29 44 g; *za-gin-a*=*zagindur*; V. 22, 11: TAK *zaginduru*=*zagin-du-ur* (cf. ZA. i. 62, n. i.). Now *zagindur*=*uknā ebbu* 'shining crystal.' Hence *dur*=*a* seems to contain the idea 'shine,' seen also above in *A=a*. It is possible, therefore, that *a=ebbu* (Br. 11335) may have had the reading *dur* which would seem to give the meaning 'shine' to *labāku*, grouped together with *azal* and *narabu*, the meanings of which are unknown.

F. *A=id*, only Sa. vi. 25 (*i*[?]-*id*) but *A=idu* 'hand,' K. 4870, 43 (Br. 11336); *a-ni-šu*=*ana idišunu* 'unto their hands,' so *A=id* is clearly a Semitic combination. This is plainly a case where the later Semitic scribes confounded *ID=a* the regular sign for 'hand, arm, strength' (Br. 6542) with the water-sign A. Such an interchange could only have taken place after the Sumerian had ceased to be a spoken idiom, because we must assume a difference of tone between *ID=a* and *A=a*. This would give us the fifth *a*-tone (see above § VII, and this section A. 4).

§ IX. No better example than A can be had of the manner in which the original Sumerian syllabary was treated in the course of centuries. Here we find a sign which primitively meant only 'water' and most probably corresponded to the simple vocable *a* = 'water,' from which meaning, as just shown, were developed; 1) almost every possible conception directly connected with 'water'; 2) a number of ideas suggested by the secondary sense of 'semen' (= 'water'); 3) a word denoting effulgence (= 'shining water,' also with the value *dur*); and 4) the *a* which was probably an arbitrary vowel used in grammatical relations, having no connection with *a* = 'water.' The makers of the syllabary were not content, however, with a single value for this overworked sign. Still having 'water, moisture' in mind, they added the *mē*-value, most probably a derivative from their own Semitic word *mē* 'waters.' Then A had to serve with the value *bur*, used with this sign originally only of the Euphrates (*Bura-nunu*). True to the inherent principles of vowel-harmony and dissimilation, A is pronounced *e* in a number of cases, and finally, we find A = *dur* in the sense 'shine.'

§ X. It is clear from the above study that many of these evident accretions to the original meaning could only have been due to a later interference with and an arbitrary development of the primitive syllabary. This idea is confirmed more and more as the entire Sumerian vocabulary is studied, every word of which must be examined separately. With this object in view, I am at present engaged in preparing what I trust shall be as exhaustive a study as possible of the extant Sumerian word-list. The work will be a Sumerian Lexicon and at the same time a *Prolegomenon* for the further investigation of this important subject.

§ XI. The Sumerian literature, as we have it to-day, presents a most curious phenomenon to the philologist; viz., a practically monosyllabic agglutinative idiom exhibiting all the marks of this class of language, adopted by an alien priesthood as a sacred tongue. In the course of two thousand years, this foreign priesthood, having lost at quite an early date the use of Sumerian as a living language, continued to employ it as a purely written vehicle, filling in its vocabularies with countless synonyms and variations, which could only have grown out of

an orthographic system. Of course, I do not mean to imply that this priestly idiom was not even at the very latest date recited orally in incantations, but in all probability not in the ancient manner with tones. In spite of all this superimposition of extraneous matter, however, the genuine linguistic character of the Sumerian sentence can never for an instant be disregarded. If every word in the vocabulary were pure Semitic, the grammar of the language even in its latest most garbled form would point to its non-Semitic origin.

# INDEX TO MOST IMPORTANT SUMERIAN WORDS.

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*The Introductory Lines of the Cuneiform Account of the Deluge.*—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.<sup>1</sup>

At the meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York, April, 1901, I presented a tentative restoration of the beginning of the Babylonian Nimrod epic.<sup>2</sup> I showed that the opening lines contained references to Nimrod's wondrous adventures, his descent to the great deep, his crossing of the waters of death, and the recovery of the plant of life.<sup>3</sup> The beginning of the eleventh tablet of the Nimrod epic, which contains the cuneiform account of the Deluge, was discussed in my paper published in No. 69 of the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (February, 1889) p. 17. I quoted there the strange rendering of Geo. Smith, of which Alfred von Gutschmid, in his review of Duncker's *History of Antiquity*, said that Duncker passed it over with eloquent silence.<sup>4</sup>

Geo. Smith<sup>5</sup> translated the introductory lines of the Deluge tablet :

Izdubar to him also said to Hasisadra the remote :

"I am burdened with the matter, Hasisadra,  
why thou repeatest not to me from thee,  
and thou repeatest not to me from thee,  
thy ceasing my heart to make war  
presses? of thee, I come up after thee, [thou art placed."  
...., how thou hast done, and in the assembly of the gods alive

In my paper on Illustrative Quotations in the Old Testament, printed in the *Transactions* (p. 229) of the Thirteenth Inter-

<sup>1</sup> Read at the meeting of the American Oriental Society in Washington, April, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> See vol. 22 of this JOURNAL, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> See Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 36, l. 38; cf. A. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> See Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung* (Giessen, 1878) p. 21, l. 12.

<sup>5</sup> See Geo. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries* (London, 1875) p. 184; cf. TSBA 3, 580; *Records of the Past*, 7 (London, 1876) 135. In Geo. Smith's *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, edited by A. H. Sayce (London, 1880) p. 279 the first seven lines are translated as follows: 1. (Izdubar) to him also

national Congress of Orientalists, held at Hamburg in 1902, I have stated that a meaningless passage in the Bible is generally due to corruption of the received text, but in the translation of original documents like the cuneiform tablets the nonsense resulting must be credited to the modern interpreters. I tell my students constantly to bear in mind that the ancient Assyrian scribes were not all inmates of lunatic asylums.

Oppert's translation of the introductory lines of the Flood tablet is more sensible than the rendering given by Smith; it is however not a translation of the original text but a fanciful composition suggested by the cuneiform lines. Oppert renders:

Istubar spoke to Adrahasis at the remote dwelling-place as follows:  
 "I must question thee, O Adrahasis!" [me.<sup>1</sup>  
 The number of thy years does not change, in this thou resemblest  
 Thou thyself doest not change, in this thou resemblest me.  
 Thy perfection is to remain like thyself.  
 Tell me why age has taken no hold on thee, [bly of the gods?<sup>2</sup>  
 Why thou occupiest this place and preservest thy life in the assem-

---

speaks even to Xisuthrus afar off: 2. O Xisuthrus, 3. (why) doest thou not again (to me) as I (to thee)? 4. (why) doest thou not again (to me) as I (to thee)? 5. . . . my heart to make war 6. . . . I come up after thee, 7. when thou didst take, and in the assembly of the gods didst obtain life. In the German edition of Smith's work (Leipzig, 1876) p. 818, Friedrich Delitzsch proposed the following translation: *Ich suche dich auf, Hasisadra; dein Maass ist doch kein anderes, wie ich so du; und du selbst bist doch nichts andres, wie ich so du, d. h. du bist doch mein Vorfahre, warst auch nichts andres denn ich, warum solltest du mir nicht mittheilen wie du unsterblich geworden, damit ich es auch werde.*

<sup>1</sup> See the abstract of my paper on the name of the Babylonian Noah in the Transactions of the Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists (Florence, 1901) I, clxxvi; ZA 13, 288; KAT<sup>3</sup>, 66, 4; KAT<sup>3</sup>, 545, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This translation is, of course, impossible, but it is at least intelligible.

<sup>3</sup> See Oppert; *Le poëme chaldéen du déluge* (Paris, 1885) p. 7. The French rendering reads as follows:

*Istubar parla ainsi à Adrahasis à la lointaine demeure:*

*"Il faut que je t'interroge, ô Adrahasis!*

*Le nombre de tes années ne change pas, en cela tu me ressembles.*

*Toi-même tu ne changes pas, en cela tu me ressembles.*

*Ta perfection est de rester égal à toi-même.*

*Dis-moi pourquoi l'âge n'a pas de prise sur toi,*

*Pourquoi tu occupes cette place et que tu gardes ta vie dans l'assemblée des dieux?"*

I proposed at that time (i. e. more than fifteen years ago) the following translation :

Nimrod<sup>1</sup> spake to him, even to Xisuthros<sup>2</sup> the remote :  
 "I look up to thee (with amaze) Xisuthros ;  
 Thy appearance is not changed, like me art thou ;  
 And thou thyself art not changed, like me art thou  
 In thy perfection.—But my heart has still to fight the struggle  
 [Against all that is no longer] placed upon thy back ;  
 [Tell me then] how thou didst come to dwell (here) and obtain life  
 in the assembly of the gods?"

I prepared a revised translation of the Deluge tablet for the third edition of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, but it has not been published so far ; Schrader's ill health compelled him to entrust the third edition of his work to Winckler and Zimmern, and the new editors decided not to incorporate any transliterations of cuneiform texts. I placed the proofs of my new translation at the disposal of Canon Driver and our own Professor Jastrow (ZA 13, 293, l. 18). On p. 493 of his excellent<sup>3</sup> book *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898) Professor Jastrow gave the following translation of the introductory lines of the Deluge tablets :

Gilgamesh<sup>1</sup> speaks to him, to Parnapishtim,<sup>2</sup> the far-removed :  
 "I gaze at thee in amazement, Parnapishtim.  
 Thy appearance is normal. As I am, so art thou.  
 Thy entire nature<sup>3</sup> is normal. As I am, so art thou.  
 Thou art completely equipped for the fray.  
 Armor(?) thou hast placed upon thee.  
 Tell me how thou didst come to obtain eternal life among the gods."

<sup>1</sup> See Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 33, l. 16 ; cf. Zimmern in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 423, n. 3 ; A. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> See above, page 69, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> That is, thy speech, thy nature, etc. Cf. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 493, n. 2. It might be well to add here that I consider Zimmern's note, KAT<sup>3</sup>, 350 to be unjust, and Hommel's remarks in the second edition of his pamphlet *Die altorientalischen Denkmäler und das Alte Testament* (Berlin, 1903) p. 53, below, are, to say the least, at variance with the resolutions adopted at the special meeting of the Assyriologists, held at Hamburg in connection with the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists. In the printed circular, which bears the signature of Professor Hommel, the first resolution states that the undersigned Assyriologists (including Hommel) have unanimously resolved to make an effort *dass alles Persönliche bei der Kritik fachgenössischer Arbeiten vermieden werde*.

This translation is undoubtedly superior to the rendering subsequently published by Jensen in the sixth volume of Schrader's *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek* (Berlin, 1900). Jensen still translates: *Deine Maasse sind nicht anders*, 'Thy measures are not different, like me art' thou, confounding *mīndti* 'appearance' with *mīnāti* 'numbers.'<sup>2</sup> *Mīndti* in this passage must not be derived from the stem מנ 'to number,' but it is the feminine plural of the noun *mīn* 'species' which we find in the first chapter of Genesis and other Priestly sections.<sup>3</sup> Species means not only a particular sort but also 'visible form, appearance.' The amplificative plural *mīndti* 'looks' has the meaning of the Greek *σχήμα*, Lat. *habitus*. My explanation of this term was published seventeen years ago in Dr. Adler's paper, On the Views of the Babylonians concerning Life after Death, read at the meeting of our Society in Baltimore, October, 1887 (*JAOS* 13, cexliii, n. 14);<sup>4</sup> but this word is not recognized in De-

<sup>1</sup> Jensen (KB 6, 229. 231) encloses the verb in *wie ich bist du* in (), as though the *verbum substantivum* could be expressed in the clause *like me art thou*; *kīma jāti-ma tabāšī* would mean: thou wilt be like me; see n. 9 on my paper *Babel and Bible* in No. 163 of the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars* (June, 1903) p. 50. For Assy. *jāti* = 𐎶𐎶𐎵, 𐎶𐎶𐎵 see Crit. Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 51, l. 15. Jensen would do well to adopt the principle of the Revisers of the Authorized Version, who decided not to italicize any words that are plainly implied in the original. The italics in And God saw the light, that *it was* good (for When God saw that the light was good) and the parenthesis in Jensen's *wie ich (bist) du* are entirely superfluous. Jensen might just as well enclose the article *der, die, das* in parentheses, for the Assyrian original has no article. Cf. my remarks on Jensen's translations in vol. 22 of this JOURNAL, p. 9. See also Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 141, f; Wright-De Goeje, 2, §§ 122. 131; Delitzsch, § 140.

<sup>2</sup> In his treatise *The Hebrew Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research* (London, 1883) p. 71, Delitzsch advanced the theory that Heb. *mīn* did not mean 'species' but 'number'=Assyr. *mīnu* 'number'; cf. Delitzsch's *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, 1886) p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. *mīn* may be a Babylonian loanword; Deut. 14, 1-21 is a late (Exilic) addition. In the same way Heb. *dīn* (ZA 14, 351) may be a Sumerian loanword, although it is not recorded in the list appended to Pontus Leander's dissertation *Über die sumerischen Lehnwörter im Assyrischen* (Upsala, 1903); cf. my paper *Über einen Dialekt der sumerischen Sprache* in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Göttingen (GGN, Nov. 3, 1889) p. 527, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 1, 124, below.



litzsch's Assyrian dictionary (HW 417<sup>b</sup>) or in Meissner's *Supplement*; see also Zimmern's *Beitr. zur Kenntnis der babyl. Religion* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 118, ll. 28. 30.

Lines 5 and 6, which are especially difficult owing to the mutilated condition of the beginnings of the last three lines of the opening paragraph, are rendered by Jensen as follows:

Whole to thee is the heart to make strife;  
And yet thou liest on the side, on thy back?  
"Ganz ist dir" das Herz, um Streit zu machen;  
[und doch] liegst du [au]f der Seite, auf deinem Rücken?

Jensen thinks that *gummurka* can mean 'Whole is to' thee'; but we would expect *gummur libbuka* 'whole is thy heart,' or 'whole is thy heart within thee,' just as we read in the later parallel account of Saul's death in 2 S I, 9 that the Amalekite, who brought the tidings of the death of Saul, reported to David that Saul had told him, Slay me, although<sup>2</sup> my life is yet whole within me (כִּי כָל עוֹר נִפְשִׁי בִּי). Similarly Job (27, 3)<sup>3</sup> says: All my breath is still in me (כִּי כָל עוֹר נִשְׁמָתִי בִּי). This is not an inversion for the normal כִּי עוֹר כָּל-נִפְשִׁי בִּי, as Driver<sup>4</sup> supposes; in these two passages כָּל cannot be the noun כָּל 'totality,' it must be an intransitive adjective like רַב 'great,' קָל 'light,' דַּל 'weak,' רַךְ 'tender,' מַר 'bitter,' חַי 'alive.' Just as we find كَلِيل, ذَلِيل, غَلِيل in Arabic and Aramaic alongside of Heb. קָל, דַּל, רַךְ,<sup>5</sup> so we find כָּלִיל 'whole' alongside of the intransitive adjective כָּל.

Delitzsch states in his Assyrian dictionary under *gamāru* (HW 200<sup>a</sup>) that he does not venture to translate line 5 of the Deluge tablet. In Zimmern's translation appended to Gunkel's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 117, x.

<sup>2</sup> For the כִּי concessivum cf. Eccl. 12, 3: כִּי מְעוֹט, although they are few; Eccl. 4, 14: כִּי מִבֵּית הַסּוֹרִים יֵצֵא, although he (the boy, i. e. Alexander Balas) may have come from a family of outcasts; see also Crit. Notes of Proverbs (SBOT) p. 89, l. 43. The Authorized Version has *though* in the margin for *for* in Gen. 8, 21; cf. *although* in Ex. 13, 17.

<sup>3</sup> According to Duhm v. 3 should be inserted after v. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford, 1890) p. 180; cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch, § 128, e; Gesenius-Buhl<sup>12</sup>, p. 370<sup>a</sup>, above. H. P. Smith's conjecture כִּי כָלָה נִפְשִׁי and Grätz's כָּל for כָּל are gratuitous; nor need we, with Nowack, suppose that כָּל is due to dittography of the preceding כִּי.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. Barth, *Nominalbildung* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 19.

*Schöpfung und Chaos* (Göttingen, 1895) p. 423 the introductory lines are omitted; nor are they translated in Winckler's *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, second edition (Leipzig, 1903) p. 84 and in Alfred Jeremias' *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1904) p. 125.

The *ka* after *gummur* can neither be a dative<sup>1</sup> suffix, as Jensen supposes, nor can it be a personal affix of the permansive form; the second person of the permansive would be *gummuratu* or *gummurat*, but not *gummurka*. Assyrian *gummurka* might mean 'in thy perfection,' as I translated in 1888, but I believe now that *ka* must be separated from *gummur*. I stated in my edition of the Babylonian Nimrod epic<sup>2</sup> that there was room for an additional character between *ka* and the following word *libbi* 'heart.' In 1888 I suggested the conjunction *u* 'and,' but I am convinced now that we ought to restore the character PAD (*šuk*) consisting of the corner-wedge *u* and the sign for *ša*. I propose to read: *Gummur ka[pād] libbi ana epēš tuquntī*, lit. Whole is the striving of the heart to make war, i. e., Eager is the desire of thy heart to do battle. This would be in Hebrew: מלא יצר לב לעשות מלחמה. The meaning of the line is: Thou seemest just as hale and hearty as thou wast at the time thou wast wont to fight, thou lookest still like a warlike hero, fit or prepared for war, ready to engage in war.

The stem *kapādu* 'to plan' is commonly used in connection with *libbu* 'heart.' In the introduction to the cuneiform account of the Battle of Haldūle (Senn. 5, 7) we find: *ikpud libbašunu ana epēš tuquntī*, their heart planned to make war, and in the inscription (V R. 55, 7) from a boundary stone (found at Abū-habba) of Nebuchadnezzar I (about 1140 B. C.) translated in Hilprecht's dissertation *Freibrief Nebukadnezars I* (Leipzig, 1883), Nebuchadnezzar is called: *zigrū gardu ša ana epēš taxāzi kitpudā emāqāšu*, whose forces plan to do battle, not as Delitzsch (HW 346<sup>a</sup>, below) explains: who is intent with all his strength on war (see also PSBA 6, 146).

<sup>1</sup> See above, page 72, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrod-Epos* (Leipzig, 1891) p. 184, n. 6; cf. *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, I, 122.

<sup>3</sup> Or הַגִּיז or הַגִּזָּה, i. e. הַגִּזָּה (not הַגִּזָּה ψ 49, 4). For מלא cf. Eccl. 8, 11.

*Kapād libbi* has about the same meaning as the Heb. phrase **לבו יצר** (מחשבת) **לבו** in the introductory verses of the Biblical story of the Deluge. The statement **וכל יצר מחשבת לבו רק** (Gen. 6, 5) could be translated into Assyrian: *gummur<sup>1</sup> kapād libbišu ana epēš limutti* and Gen. 8, 21: 'the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth' (Heb. **כי יצר לב האדם** **רע** **מנערו**) would be in Assyrian: *Utu gierišu kapād libbi anēli limnu šā.<sup>2</sup>* Just as the cuneiform account of the Deluge is but an episode in the Babylonian Nimrod epic describing the exploits of the ancient national hero of Babylonia, the prototype of the Greek Hercules,<sup>3</sup> so the Biblical story of the Flood is preceded by a mythological introduction alluding to the intercourse between the sons of God and the daughters of men and their children, the giants, the mighty men which were of old, the men of renown.

The traces at the beginning of the sixth line of the Deluge tablet lend themselves very well to *sir-ia-am* as suggested on p. 493 of Professor Jastrow's *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*. Zimmern states in KAT<sup>3</sup>, 650, l. 7 that Heb. **שְׂרִיָּאן** is probably a loanword derived from the Assyrian *siriām* or *širiām*.<sup>4</sup> This is undoubtedly correct, but this word seems to be a Sumerian compound:<sup>5</sup> the second element of *siriām* is probably the Sumerian word *am* 'wild bull.'<sup>6</sup> The defensive covering was no plate-armor or chain-mail, but it seems to have been a kind of

<sup>1</sup> For *gummur* we may compare the post-Biblical **נָמַר** 'to be determined, to strive,' e. g. Ber. 17<sup>a</sup>: **מְרַגְלָא בְּפּוּמִיָּה דְּרַבִּי מַאִיר גַּמּוּר**. It was a maxim often quoted by Rabbi Meir: Strive with all thy heart and with all thy soul to know my ways. Lazarus Goldschmidt, *Der babyl. Talmud*, I (Berlin, 1897) p. 61 renders *learn*, but this is incorrect; see Marcus Jastrow's Dictionary, p. 255<sup>a</sup>, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Sumerian penitential psalm translated in my *Akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1883) p. xxxv; Zimmern, *Babyl. Busspsalmen* (Leipzig, 1885) p. 42; Delitzsch, HW 384<sup>a</sup>; Code of Hammurabi 42, 91; J. Hehn, *Sünde und Erlösung nach bibl. und babyl. Anschauung* (Leipzig, 1903) p. 10, n. 1 and p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. Jeremias, *op. cit.*, p. 121, above; p. 287, below.

<sup>4</sup> For Heb. **שְׂ** = Assyrian *s* see Crit. Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 235, l. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Not recorded in Leander's dissertation cited above, p. 71, n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> See Delitzsch, *Zweiter Vortrag über Babel und Bibel* (Stuttgart 1903) fig. 12 (p. 9).

buff-coat, made of the skin of a wild bull (*cf.* cuirass=*coriaceus*, of leather; *lorica*, etc.). The Assyrian buff-coats are described by Col. Billerbeck on pp. 174 ff. of the third volume of the Johns Hopkins Contributions to Assyriology. I gave this explanation of *siriām* eighteen years ago in my translation of the cuneiform account of the Battle of Halûle in the *Andover Review* (May, 1886). In the same way *xuliām* in the passage of the Sennacherib Prism, *xuliām āpira rāšā'a*<sup>1</sup> must denote a helmet of buff-leather (*cf.* *κυνέη*). Both *siriām* and *xuliām* are indeclinable. *Siriām lā nadāt(a) eli ġirika* cannot be translated: Armor thou hast placed upon thy back; the armor covered chiefly the breast, not the back; *eli ġirika* must mean simply 'upon thee.'

I would therefore translate the introductory lines of the cuneiform account of the Deluge as follows:

Nimrod<sup>2</sup> said to him, even to Ūt-napišti<sup>3</sup>,<sup>4</sup> the translated:

I gaze at thee (with amazement) O Ūt-nāpišti<sup>5</sup>;

Thy appearance is unchanged, like me art thou;

And thou thyself<sup>6</sup> art not changed, like me art thou.

Eager is the de[sire] of thy heart to do battle;

[Ar]mor thou hast placed on thy body.

[bly of the gods.

[Tell me]<sup>7</sup> how didst thou settle (here) and obtain life in the assem-

<sup>1</sup> See my paper on Assyrian Phonology in *Hebraica*, I, 178, n. 1; *The Assyrian E-vowel* (Baltimore, 1887) p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> See above, page 70, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See above, page 69, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> See above, page 70, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> Read *qi-ba-a-ma*; *cf.* col. 4 of the twelfth tablet, *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, I, 59.

*Some Remarks regarding the Pronunciation of Modern Syriac.*—By DR. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York City.

THE Syriac language is called in the Urmi dialect ܫܝܪܝܐ; in the dialect of the Kurdistan mountains ܫܝܪܝܐ; in Mesopotamia ܫܝܪܝܐ; and further west in Jabal-Tūr ܫܝܪܝܐ. But Modern Syriac is called ܠܥܝܢܐ ܫܝܪܝܐ, that is, 'the new language;' ܠܥܝܢܐ ܫܝܪܝܐ, 'the colloquial or vernacular;' ܠܥܝܢܐ ܫܝܪܝܐ, 'the translated language;' while the classical Syriac is called ܠܥܝܢܐ ܫܝܪܝܐ, 'the old language;' ܠܥܝܢܐ ܫܝܪܝܐ, 'the language of the books;' and ܠܥܝܢܐ ܫܝܪܝܐ, 'the literary language.'

Whatever may be the origin of modern Syriac, whether it be a descendant of, or closely akin to, the classical Syriac or a relic of a more ancient tongue, it is certain that it has been influenced greatly by outside languages; in Persia by Persian and Turkish, in Kurdistan by Kurdish and Turkish, and farther west (especially in Jabal-Tūr) by Arabic. It is largely due to the admixture of these foreign elements, aided by the fact that up to the last half of the nineteenth century it was practically an unwritten language, spoken chiefly by illiterate people, that modern Syriac has been divided into over twenty dialects. The people of neighboring villages are able to converse with each other with a fair amount of fluency, but as the geographical distance between them increases, they become more and more unintelligible to each other; so much so that the dialects of

<sup>1</sup> See Maclean, *Grammar of Vernacular Syriac*, pp. x, xiii, xiv; Duval, *Les Dialectes Neo-Araméens de Salamas*, pp. iii, iv; and compare Nöldeke, *Grammatik der Neusyrischen Sprache*, pp. xxi-xxiii; Assemani, *B. O.*, iii. ii. 707; David, *Grammaire de la Langue Araméenne*; Introduction, p. 9; Rödiger, in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. ii, Göttingen, 1889.

Urmi in the extreme East and of Jabal-Tūr in the extreme West appear almost to be two distinct languages.

The foregoing groups might easily be subdivided into minor dialects differing from each other in the pronunciation of certain words. In the Urmi dialect, for instance, the abstract terminations ending in **ܐܝܬܐ**, as **ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ**, **ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ** are pronounced in various ways in the different villages of the Urmi district. The word for 'faith' in Degala and in most of the neighboring villages is pronounced **ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ**, while in Giogtapa, within five miles of Degala, it is pronounced **ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ**. In the village of Sipūrghan in the northern part of the Urmi plain it is pronounced **ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ**, but in Gavilan at the extreme northern end it is pronounced **ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ** or **ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ**, just as in Salamas. The most peculiar dialect in Urmi seems to be that of Tekka Ardishai, two villages at the southern end of Urmi. Here *Zqapa* is variously pronounced as *ā* in cap; *ā* in fall; *ē* in fête. Take, as an illustration, the sentence **ܕܒܒܐ ܕܝܫܠܝ ܒܝܪ ܬܝܪܝ ܓܘܝܐܡܐ**.

In the speech of these two villages it is pronounced: *bēbē hišli bēi tēri gō yāmā*, 'my father went after the birds into the sea;' while in all the other villages of the Urmi plain it is read: *bābi hišli bār tairi gū yāmā*.

It must be borne in mind that these variations in the Urmi dialects are manifested in conversation only, the spelling being the same in all.

The speech of the villagers who live among the Mohammedans of Urmi is of a motley type; in some instances the Turkish words are more numerous than the Syriac. This is especially true in regard to the people who live along the upper part of the Barandūz river. As an illustration the following sentence will suffice: **ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐܝܬܐ ܕܝܬܐܝܬܐ**, 'the magpie has built a nest on the willow tree.' Here the first, third and fifth words, all of which are substantives, are Turkish, while only the second (a verb) and the fourth (a preposition) are Syriac.





*Šamaš-šum-ukīn the eldest son of Esarhaddon.*<sup>1</sup>—By CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON, Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

ESARHADDON, King of Assyria, died on the 10th day of Marcheshvan, 669 B. C.,<sup>2</sup> while on his way to Egypt in command of an expedition against that country. The succession to his dominions had been settled by the King before his departure, and his son Ašur-bāni-pal had been solemnly proclaimed heir to the throne of Assyria, receiving in that capacity the homage of the nobles and people, while another son, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, had been designated as King of Babylon. These dispositions were duly carried into effect, but matters had not run as smoothly as might appear upon the surface. Winckler<sup>3</sup> has shown that, in all probability, Esarhaddon originally intended to bequeath to his son Šamaš-šum-ukīn the succession to his entire dominions, and perhaps even to make Babylon the real capital of the empire. This design was opposed by the national Assyrian party headed by Ašur-bāni-pal, and the King, after an unavailing resistance, was eventually forced to a compromise whereby he was only able to save the kingship of Babylon for his favorite son. Even this reservation was doubtless distasteful to the nationalist party, but they were unable to carry their point

<sup>1</sup> Abstract of a paper read before the American Oriental Society, at Washington, April 7th, 1904. Since sending this article to the editors of the Journal, I have received Dr. Bruno Meissner's article *Samassum-ukīn und Asurbanipal* published in MVAG, 1904, pp. 181-184. Although Dr. Meissner's interpretation of the Assyrian letter (Harper's *Letters*, No. 870), which I translate below, differs from my own in a number of points, I am glad to have the independent support of so able an Assyriologist for my view that the letter is addressed to Esarhaddon by a member of the national Assyrian party and refers to the political compromise, first pointed out by Winckler (*Forschungen*, I, 415 ff.) whereby Ašurbanipal succeeded to the throne of Assyria, while Šamaš-šum-ukīn became king of Babylon. Dr. Meissner has, of course, not overlooked the important reference to Šamaš-šum-ukīn as Esarhaddon's eldest son.

<sup>2</sup> Not 668; cf. Šanda's paper *Das Todesjahr Assarhaddons in Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 7 (1902) pp. 85-89.

<sup>3</sup> *Altorientalische Forschungen* 1, 415 ff.

further and, after all, Šamaš-šum-ukīn, though King of Babylon, would still be a vassal of Assyria and could be held in proper subjection. His subsequent career, the great rebellion that he organized against his brother, and his tragic death by fire in 647 B. C., are well known.

In a number of passages Šamaš-šum-ukīn is referred to as the *aru talīmu* of Ašur-bāni-pal, a phrase which Delitzsch (HW. 707; AL<sup>1</sup> 191) renders *twin brother*. Assyrian *talīmu*, however, seems to mean not *twin* but *companion, equal*, and is appropriately applied by Ašur-bāni-pal to his brother Šamaš-šum-ukīn in respect to the royal dignity they possessed in common.<sup>1</sup> On other grounds, moreover, it is hardly probable that the brothers were twins. Šamaš-šum-ukīn was certainly the son of a Babylonian mother,<sup>2</sup> and this very fact tended to prejudice against him the powerful nobles who led the national Assyrian party. It is most unlikely that, had Ašur-bāni-pal been a twin brother of Šamaš-šum-ukīn, or even a son of the same mother, this anti-Babylonian party would have supported his pretensions to the throne of Assyria, and have placed in him their hopes of a reversal of his father's policy. The very object and aim of the revolutionary movement which brought him to the throne required that he should be in all respects a true Assyrian, free from all taint of Babylonianism.

The motives which would induce Esarhaddon to make Šamaš-šum-ukīn his successor are, in part at least, apparent. His Babylonian sympathies are well known, and doubtless the influence of his Babylonian wife was not without effect, but he was not the man to take such a step upon purely sentimental grounds. Babylon had been for ages the holy city, the Mecca of Western Asia. Historically she was the legitimate capital of the empire, and her people still brooded sullenly over the memory of the days when Assyria was merely one of her provinces. Compromises of all kinds had been tried without effect; the Babylonians could never be brought to accept without reserve the rule of the Assyrian usurpers. Babylon was, moreover, most favorably situated on the great highway of commerce running from the far east along the Euphrates to the Mediterranean coast,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. F. Lehmann, *Šamššumukīn* (Leipzig, 1892) I, pp. 23-33; Jensen in Schrader's KB. 6, 434.

<sup>2</sup> Winckler, *Forschungen*, I, 417, n. 1.

and the rich traffic brought boundless wealth to her gates. If the ancient city could be established as the capital of the empire under a king ruling there legitimately, according to Babylonian ideas, and at the same time holding sway by right of birth over Assyria, the possibilities were magnificent. Such a king, reconciling all difficulties and jealousies by a judicious and tactful policy, could unite the historic prestige, the culture, and the commercial advantages of Babylon with the military strength of Assyria, and rule over a united empire from the Persian Gulf to the Nile. If then Esarhaddon actually cherished the idea of transferring the capital from Nineveh to Babylon, he was doubtless moved in great measure by these considerations. In selecting Šamaš-šum-ukin as his successor he probably counted upon his son's birth making him acceptable to the Babylonians, but there must have been some show of reason to satisfy the Assyrian party. Of the necessity of placating this party the king was certainly well aware, and he would hardly have attempted to disinherit Ašur-bāni-pal in favor of a younger brother. If, however, Šamaš-šum-ukin were the eldest son of Esarhaddon, he would be the natural heir to the throne, and the king would then have a legitimate reason for leaving his dominions to his favorite son, who was in all respects likely to carry out his father's policy. That this was actually the case, that Šamaš-šum-ukin was indeed the eldest son of Esarhaddon would seem to be a fact. In Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (No. 870) is an address to the King from a person whose name is obliterated, but who was probably a priest. The text is, unfortunately, badly mutilated in some places, but the most important portion is well preserved. The letter may be rendered as follows:

#### TRANSLATION.

To the king, my lord, thy servant . . . . . ! Greeting to the King, my lord ! May Nebo and Marduk bless my lord, the King ! A thing displeasing in heaven the King, my lord, has wrought upon earth, and it has been revealed to thy son. Thou hast formed a plot, thou hast entrusted to him the sovereignty over Assyria, (and) thou hast appointed thine eldest son to be king in Babylon \* \* \* \* \* The king, my lord, in (the matter of his) royal sons has done what is not good for the land of

Assyria. My lord, the King! From the rising of the sun until the sun is high Ašur is gracious to thee. Look upon these thy noble sons and let thy heart rejoice. Let the King, my lord, dismiss (?) this ill-omened thought from his mind \*\*\*\*\*

# TRANSLITERATION.

## OBVERSE.

- Ana šarri belija*  
*Araulka \* \* \* \* \**  
*Lā šulnu ana šarri belija!*  
<sup>11</sup>*Nabā* <sup>11</sup>*Marduk* *ana šarri belija*  
 5. *likrubā!* *Ša ina šamē lā egirāni*  
*Šarru belī ina qaggiri etāpaš,*  
*uktallim ana pān mārīka.*  
*KU. šitātu tartākus, šarrātu*  
*ša māt Aššur ina pānišu tussadgil,*  
 10. *aplaka rabā ana šarruti*  
*ina Bābīli tassākan.*  
*\* \* \* \* \**  
*\* \* \* \* \**

## REVERSE.

- \* \* \* \* \**  
*\* \* \* \* \* šarru belija*  
*ina šarrāni mārē lā tabtu*  
*ana māt Aššur epuš. Umā,*  
*šarru belī, ištu napāx šamši*  
 5. *adī rabā šamši Ašur ittānnaka.*  
*Mārēku annāte damqāti dugul*  
*libbaka lā xadī. Dabābu*  
*lā damqu šarru ištu elī libbišu*  
*[liše]lī ina libbi teniš \* \* \* \* \**

The remaining lines are all mutilated.

## NOTES.

Instead of *egirāni*, *egirāni* or *epišāni* might be read, but *egirāni* (𒂍𒅗) seems to suit the context best.

For *qaggiru* as a byform of *qaggaru* see Meissner's *Supplement*, p. 85<sup>b</sup>.

The words KU *šitātu tartākas* offer some difficulty. KU is, of course, a determinative indicating that the following word is the name of some garment or texture, while *šitātu* must be connected with Heb. *šēṭī* 'warp in a loom' (στήμων, stamen); see Moore in PAOS. 1889, p. clxxviii, and Driver in the translation of Leviticus (in the Polychrome Bible) p. 77, l. 9. Assy. *šatā*, as the name of some kind of garment or stuff, occurs in VR. 15, 5 e. f., while *šatā*, evidently from the same stem, is found in VR. 14, 43<sup>b</sup>. Assy. *šitātu tartākas* may therefore mean: *thou hast made fast the (threads of) the warp*, i. e. thou hast prepared the web for weaving, thou hast formed a plot. In the same way we use to *warp* in the sense of *fabricating*, *plotting*, and *web* for *plot*, *scheme*. Cf. also *rikiltā* 'plot, conspiracy' (Senn. 5, 15) from *rakāsu* 'to bind' (Heb. קשר).

I take *ittānnaku* as a syncopated form for *ittānanaka* from אֲנִי (HW. 101<sup>b</sup>); cf. Del. Gr. §§ 37<sup>b</sup>; 97.

Although no names are mentioned, the allusions in the text leave no room for doubt that the letter is addressed to Esarhaddon and refers to the king's two sons Ašur-bānī-pal and Šamaš-šum-ukīn. There was no other Assyrian monarch who made one of his sons King of Assyria, the other King of Babylon. The letter was, of course, inspired by Ašur-bānī-pal, and was doubtless written when he first learned the terms of the compromise his father had determined to make. He aimed to secure for himself an undivided sceptre and he was naturally disinclined to share the rule with his brother. As to his contention that the proposed arrangement was *not good for the land of Assyria*, subsequent events proved that he was entirely right. In any case, however, the writer of the letter distinctly states that Šamaš-šum-ukīn was the eldest son of Esarhaddon.

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<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Haupt for this illustration.

*Erman's Egyptian Grammar.*—By CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON,  
Professor in Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

WHILE Assyriologists have derived invaluable assistance from the close analogy presented by a number of kindred languages and from the numerous lexicographical and grammatical tablets prepared by the ancient Babylonian and Assyrian scholars,<sup>1</sup> Egyptologists have had no corresponding advantages. Egyptian stands practically alone; there is no group of sister dialects to throw light upon its structure and vocabulary, the Egyptian scribes seem to have paid no attention to the philology of their own tongue, and there is no grammatical tradition whatever. In the complicated and imperfect system of writing employed by the ancient Egyptians only the consonants are expressed, and there is no guide to the vocalization and pronunciation of the language except Coptic, which is at least 3000 years younger than the oldest monuments of the parent stem. Many texts lie at the disposal of the student, but comparatively few are suited to the purposes of grammatical research, and by far the greater number abound in errors and corruptions due to the ignorance and carelessness of the scribes. It is nevertheless with such unpromising material that the Egyptian grammarian must work, and from it draw his conclusions as to the structure and usages of the language.

In the early days of decipherment and discovery, and for a long time thereafter, the study of Egyptian grammar in the broader sense was an impossibility. The texts formed the only basis for the study, and the texts were useless until they were intelligible. Lexicography was therefore the prime need, and while, with the steady advance of Egyptology, a considerable number of grammatical facts became apparent, it was not until a fairly copious vocabulary was established that the work of classifying the facts discovered and deducing the general principles could be attempted with any prospect of success. For these reasons the grammatical treatises of the earlier Egyptologists have now little more than a historic value, but it should

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879) pp. 4-9.

never be forgotten that the labors of these great men laid the foundations upon which their successors have built, and made possible the present development of the science in grammar as well as in other departments. Twenty-five or thirty years ago, the study of Egyptian grammar can hardly be said to have reached a very advanced stage. Champollion's *Grammaire égyptienne* (Paris, 1836) had, it is true, been superseded by later works, but the grammars of DeRougé,<sup>1</sup> Brugsch,<sup>2</sup> and Renouf<sup>3</sup> still offered little more than an elementary treatment of the subject. In the course of its long history, Egyptian, like all other languages, underwent constant growth and change, and the speech of the Old (ca. 2500–2200 B. C.) or Middle (ca. 2000–1700 B. C.) Empire would have been unintelligible to an Egyptian of the New Empire. In spite of this fact, which became more and more evident, serious difficulties attended a study of the historic development of the language, and little had been accomplished in this direction. As a rule the text books merely indicated that certain words and forms belonged to the oldest or to the latest period.

The historic method of study was first successfully applied to Egyptian grammar by Adolf Erman in his *Pluralbildung des Ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1878), in which he discussed the formation of the Egyptian plural in the three chief stages of the language: in the Old Egyptian found in texts dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty, in the later Egyptian of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> dynasties, and in Coptic. This valuable work, in which the author outlined his views on the true methods of Egyptian grammatical investigation, was but the preliminary to more extended undertakings. Two years later appeared Erman's second important work, his *Neu-ägyptische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1880), wherein he gave a thorough and systematic treatment of the language of the New Empire (1600–1100 B. C.), employing as the basis of his work the tales, legal documents, and letters preserved in the hieratic papyri of the 19<sup>th</sup> (1350–1200 B. C.) and 20<sup>th</sup> (1200–1100 B. C.) dynasties. For wealth of illustration and clearness of exposition this work is unsur-

<sup>1</sup> *Chrestomathie égyptienne* (Paris, 1867 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> *Hieroglyphische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1872).

<sup>3</sup> *Elementary Grammar of the Ancient Egyptian Language* (London, 1875).



passed. In connection with the *Pluralbildung*, it completely revolutionized the domain of Egyptian grammar, and its influence upon the scientific development of Egyptian philology would be difficult to overestimate.

Having thus clearly elucidated the grammar of the later phase of the language of ancient Egypt, Erman now directed his attention to the language of the older period. As the starting point for his studies in this direction, he selected the Papyrus Westcar, a collection of tales of magic dating probably from the Hyksos period (1700-1575 B. C.). The clear and simple narrative of the text renders it peculiarly well adapted for the purposes of grammatical investigation, while the language, though exhibiting a few points of contact with New Egyptian, is distinctly that of the Middle Empire (2000-1700 B. C.) and stands close to the classical speech of the older period. To the study of the Westcar Erman devoted a number of years and the result of his labors appeared in his *Sprache des Papyrus Westcar, eine Vorarbeit zur Grammatik der älteren ägyptischen Sprache* (Göttingen, 1889). In addition to this he published a magnificent edition of the text in facsimile and in hieroglyphic as well as in Roman transliteration, with a translation, commentary, grammatical analysis, glossary, and an important excursus on the palæography of Egyptian hieratic papyri.<sup>1</sup>

In the light of the knowledge gained by his thorough study of the Papyrus Westcar, Erman next extended his grammatical researches to the whole field of Old Egyptian literature, and five years later he gave, in his *Ägyptische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1894) a comprehensive treatment of the language of the Old and Middle Empires (ca. 2500-2200 and 2000-1700 B. C., respectively). His indefatigable labors had brought order out of chaos, and the difficult undertaking outlined in his *Pluralbildung*, some sixteen years before, might now be considered to have been accomplished. The historical method of study was firmly established, his two invaluable grammars offered a clear and scientific treatment of the older and the later language of ancient Egypt, while the *Koptische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1894) of his distinguished pupil, George Steindorff, had placed the study of Coptic upon a footing commensurate with the progress of Egyptian philology. But more remained to be done.

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<sup>1</sup> *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar* (Berlin, 1890).

In 1889, Erman advised his pupil, Kurth Sethe, to undertake the examination of certain classes of verbal stems in which the morphological changes were less completely disguised by the purely consonantal system of Egyptian writing.<sup>1</sup> Sethe, however was soon led to extend his examination to verbs of all classes and to include the syntax as well as the morphology of the verb within the scope of his investigations. The result of his labors, extending over a period of ten years, was his great work *Das ägyptische Verbum* (Leipzig, 1899), in which, after an exhaustive investigation of Egyptian phonetics, he gives a comprehensive discussion of the Egyptian verb from the earliest to the latest period of the language, treating successively and in the fullest detail the various classes of verbal stems, the morphology of the verb, and the syntactical usages which govern its employment. The results of Sethe's work are far-reaching and, while they in general amply confirm Erman's methods and theories, they have at the same time developed a large store of new information, especially in the matter of phonetics and morphology, and have thrown a flood of light upon many subjects previously obscure. Erman promptly undertook the preparation of a new edition of his grammar, which he thoroughly revised, incorporating in it all the important discoveries made by Sethe, and utilizing also Griffith's researches into the origin and development of the Egyptian system of writing which had appeared in the meantime.<sup>2</sup> The new edition of Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik*, which appeared in 1902, presents therefore the best attainment of Egyptian scholarship up to the present time, and sets the standard for all future work in this field.

Among the most interesting of Sethe's discoveries is the fact that originally the Egyptian stems were prevailingly triconsonantal. Biconsonantal stems are rare in the oldest texts, and the few that exist evidently arise from the loss of a weak stem-consonant. In the later periods of the language they become continually more common through mutilation of original tri-

<sup>1</sup> These were the stems containing a radical  $\mathfrak{K}$ , the stems II. Geminatum, and the irregular verbs, Cf. *Sprache des Papyrus Westcar*, p. 11, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Publications of the Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, edited by F. Ll. Griffith; Nos. VI-IX (1897-1900).

consonantal stems. The quadriliteral and quinquiliteral stems that occur so frequently in Egyptian are either reduplicated forms or derivatives from simple stems. The fact that triconsonantism was the rule in ancient Egyptian lends strong support to the theory maintained by Erman and his followers—the so-called Berlin school—in regard to the close relationship existing between Egyptian and Semitic. In a paper read before the Berlin Academy,<sup>1</sup> in which he summarizes and reviews the results attained in Sethe's *Verbum*, Erman expresses himself upon this subject in no uncertain terms. At some prehistoric period, he believes, Egypt was invaded by Semitic hordes from Arabia who conquered the Nubian inhabitants of the Nile valley and imposed their language upon them. The Egyptians were therefore Semitized Nubians, to use Erman's own expression, and the language was primarily Semitic. The unfamiliar Semitic sounds were clipped and mutilated in the mouths of the subject people, and the language underwent many changes, but none the less it is a true offshoot of the Semitic stem, and never entirely lost the impress of its parentage.

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<sup>1</sup> *Die Flexion des ägyptischen Verbums* in the Proceedings of the Berlin Academy (Jan.-June, 1900) pp. 317-353.

*Linguistic Archaisms of the Rāmāyaṇa.*—By TRUMAN  
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**Prefatory Note.**—In preparing this paper I have used the following editions of the whole or of parts of the Rāmāyaṇa: the Bombay edition of 1902, books i–vii; Peterson's edition of book i (1898); Schlegel's edition for book ii; Gorresio's edition for book ii and part of book iii; the Bombay edition of 1888 for the first 12 chapters of book i; and Peterson's edition of book i (1879) for the first seven chapters. However, when the first draft of the paper was finished, I used all these texts in their entire extent for a short period.

It is proper at this point to acknowledge previous work on this topic. The most important articles are Böhrtlingk's collections for books i–iv of the Bombay recension in *Ber. d. sächs. G. d. Wiss.* 1887; his collections for book vii of the Bombay edition, and books i–iv of the Bengal recension in *ZDMG.* xliii. My aim in this paper is to supplement B's work; accordingly, to make it as useful as possible, I have inserted much that will be found in B's articles, but which was collected by me independently, though afterwards I consulted Böhrtlingk's collections and was thus enabled to make some sections more complete. I may here state that I have in general noted only the archaisms of the Bombay recension; and that after book iii, usually only such archaisms as do not occur in books i–iii or else phenomena of special interest have been inserted; moreover, in the case of archaisms such as *grhya* for *grhītvā*, which occur repeatedly, my collections even for books i–iii are not exhaustive: it has been my aim not so much to gather numerically strong collections, as to present a well digested account of all the archaisms. A glance at the present paper will show that I have not merely duplicated Böhrtlingk's work: some archaisms passed over by him will be found here, and some false references are either corrected or pointed out, to say nothing of the new material collected from books v and vi of the Bombay text, or of the introduction of metrical considerations, and of parallels adduced from Vedic, Pāli, and

Prākṛit. These latter were inserted to show that the language of the Rāmāyaṇa presents a hodge-podge which, in principle, is not unlike that which the language of Āpastamba's Sūtras presents, to wit: a heterogeneous mixture of Vedic, Middle Indian, and Classical Sanskrit.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, I beg to call attention to the insertion of a supplement (which probably is not complete) from the Rāmāyaṇa to Whitney's Root-Book. Comparisons drawn from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa are intended to show that the language of the Purāṇas stands in close relationship with Epic Sanskrit.

For Prākṛitic material I have been almost wholly dependent on Pischel's Grammar. The material for Mbh. is taken from Holtzmann's *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*, and from Hopkins's *Great Epic of India*. In Pāli I have been more independent and have drawn on my private collections almost exclusively, though I have, of course, constantly consulted Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pāli-Grammatik*, and Fausbøll's *Index-Vocabulary to the Sutta Nipāta*. The Vedic material is taken almost wholly from Whitney's Grammar, and from Lanman's *Noun-Inflection in the Veda*, although I have now and then consulted Delbrück's *Altindisches Verbum*.

I would also acknowledge my indebtedness to Rāma, the native commentator on the Bombay text of the Rāmāyaṇa. I have had to check him constantly, because, in spite of his general excellence, he is too much inclined to call anything that is contrary to the rules of native grammarians Vedic.<sup>2</sup> He thus usually fails (but not always: for be it said to his credit, he never says of *kurmi*, *ity āṛṣam*; although he does say *ity āṛṣam* when touching on *dadmi* at i. 27. 15) to distinguish what is Vedic, what is peculiar to Epic Sanskrit, and what is Prākṛitic. He has hopelessly confused the first two headings, and rarely

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hopkins, *Great Epic*, p. 261 ff. Kielhorn, JRAS., 1898, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> His fault in this matter would be much decreased if we could believe that by *ārṣa* he meant Epic, and not Vedic, Sanskrit; but as he applies *chāṇḍasa* sometimes to the forms which he ordinarily denotes as *ārṣa*, we can not accept this view. (For example, he explains the augmentless imperfect *śaṁsat*, i. 1. 59, by *chāṇḍaso* 'dabhāvaḥ, but the augmentless imperfect *ardayan*, i. 17. 34, by *aḍabhāva āṛṣaḥ*; similarly touching on *sma*, he says at ii. 93. 7 *chāṇḍaso visargalopaḥ*, but at i. 65. 19 *visargalopa āṛṣaḥ*.)

keeps the third heading distinct from the other two. For example, he is justified in explaining augmentless tenses used non-modally by *chāndaso* 'dabhāvaḥ, aḍabhāvaśchāndasaḥ, aḍabhāva āṛṣaḥ, or āṛṣo 'dabhāvaḥ; but he is wholly unwarranted in saying *chāndaso visargalopaḥ* in explanation of *sma* at ii. 93. 7; or *salopaś chāndasaḥ* when touching on *karīṣyāma* at i. 40. 9; or *saṁdhir āṛṣaḥ* by the way of explanation of the irregular sandhi of *sas* in *so* "śrama-. Furthermore he explains some forms which are not archaisms at all but downright textual corruptions, as Vedic. A noteworthy case of this is *brūyāḥ*, ii. 52. 38, which he explains thus: *brūyā brūyām : chāndasam etat*. There can be no question here that *brūyām* (which Schlegel adopts) must be read in place of *brūyāḥ*, for *aham* is the subject. Treating *praśastavyāu*, i. 4. 17, the commentator says *iḍabhāvanalopāu chāndasāu*. This implies that the ordinary form should be *praśaṁsitavyāu*; but no such form with the auxiliary vowel -i- is registered in Whitney's Root-Book. As a matter of fact *śaṁstavya-* (without the auxiliary vowel -i-) is found in the Brāhmaṇas and Epics, but -*śastavya-* is peculiar to Epic Sanskrit. Again, he is silent on many points on which we might fairly expect some elucidation. Thus he fails to comment on *grasate* (according to Whitney found in V.B. only), i. 56. 13; on *syāmas*, i. 45. 16; on *nivasīṣyāsi*, i. 48. 29; on *uṣya*, ii. 52. 84; on *tudyām*, iii. 49. 4; on *drakṣyantu*, vi. 73. 7.

The references, enclosed by a half bracket, on the left of the pages are to Whitney's Skt. Grammar, and for the most part correspond to the paragraphs of the same numbers in Holtzmann's *Grammatisches aus dem Mahābhārata*. Apart from these, the references, unless expressly stated to be otherwise, are to the 1902 Bombay edition of the Rāmāyaṇa.

It is not surprising that I have collected a few forms that occur in the Rāmāyaṇa which are not registered in Whitney's Root-Book. Forms that are authorized by native grammarians, but believed to be non-quotable, are constantly turning up in the literature; and like forms which are supposed to be confined to certain periods of Sanskrit, are repeatedly appearing in other periods. See the remarks of Garbe in the preface of his edition of Āpastamba's Śrāuta Sūtra, and those of Bloomfield in the introduction to his edition of the Kāuśika Sūtra. Thus the periphrastic future *goptā* and the gerund. *śaptvā*, both author-

ized by the native grammarians, but supposed to be non-quotable, are found in the despised Bhāgavata Purāṇa at viii. 17. 18 and ix. 9. 36 respectively. The infinitive *yoddhum*, supposed to be peculiar to Epic Sanskrit, is found in KuS. at xvii. 1. Similarly the (Epic) future *grhīṣyāmi* in BKM. at xvi. 2. 39; so also the future middle *modiṣyase* ibidem ii. 2. 2.<sup>224</sup>; the perfect *rurōda* ibidem ix. 2. 16<sup>713, 716</sup>; the perfect *sasmāra* ibidem ix. 3. 29<sup>27</sup>. The following is a list of forms found in BhP.;<sup>1</sup> they are arranged in the alphabetical order of the roots, and the period or periods in which alone the forms are quotable according to Whitney, are added in parentheses: *arcitvā* (E.), viii. 16. 39; *arcitu* (E.), v. 18. 21, viii. 16. 7, x. 58. 38; *anvīyamāna* (īyā-māna ŚB.), x. 30. 12; *samūde* (ūde RV.), viii. 17. 24; *kṛṇu* (*kṛṇoti* -ute, V.B.S.; *kṛṇhī* RV.), x. 31. 7; *grasate* (V.B.), x. 34. 6; *carīṣye* (B.), iii. 24. 34; *jīviṣye* (Mbh. [but *jīviṣye* also at R. v. 40. 10]), ix. 9. 32; *drasṭā* (E.), viii. 23. 10; *dadhmvā* (E.), i. 11. 1; *paktvā* (AV.E.), ix. 9. 21; *pītvā* (V.B.S.), vi. 1. 59, x. 19. 12; *āprṇoti* (*prṇuyāt* S.), v. 5. 4; *bhavitā* (B.U.E.), ix. 12. 12, 14, 15; *rurūdus* (E.), x. 32. 1; *viṇyathus* (E.), x. 20. 15; *abhiṣṭuvāna* (*stuvāna* V.), vi. 12. 34; *sasmāra* (E.), iii. 23. 34; *vijahire* (*jahe* B.), x. 33. 15. Among forms that are not authorized by the native grammarians—at least not registered by Whitney as such—and non-quotable elsewhere, but found in BhP., I may mention: the perfect *jagrāsa*, vi. 12. 29; *drogdhum*, vi. 4. 7; *rakṣīṣye*, viii. 22. 35.

Where their intrinsic value seems to justify their mention, I have occasionally inserted in this paper some facts about the language of the Rāmāyaṇa which do not strictly fall under the heading of archaisms.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Hopkins for reading my paper in manuscript, as well as for many suggestions, and for some additional matter.

I must thank my teacher, Professor Lanman, not only for proposing this topic to me for investigation, but also for his friendliness in going over the larger part of the manuscript, as well as for many kind and helpful suggestions during its preparation.

<sup>1</sup> In Whitney's Root-Book, BhP. falls under the category of Classical Sanskrit.



## List of Abbreviations.

Most of these are those in common vogue and easily understood. The following will, I believe, be sufficient to enable the reader to follow my paper:

BKM. *Brhat-Kathā-Mañjarī*.

By. Bombay ed. of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, 1902.

G. Gorresio's ed. of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

KuS. *Kumāra-Sambhava*.

Majjh. *Majjhima Nikāya* (ed. of the Pāli Text Society), vol. i.

MV. *Mahāvagga* of the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* (Oldenberg's ed.).

P. Peterson's ed. of the first book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Sl. Schlegel's ed. of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

SN. *Sutta Nipāta* (ed. of the Pāli Text Society).

References to Pischel, unless otherwise stated, are to his *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*. Similarly the references to Kuhn and Speyer are to their works on Pāli and on Vedic and Sanskrit syntax respectively. References to Garbe are to his Preface to his edition of the *Śrāuta Sūtra* of Āpastamba. The abbreviations of the names of various Prākṛit dialects are those employed by Pischel.

## INTRODUCTION.

The language of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and of the *Mahābhārata*, which is essentially the same, is styled Epic Sanskrit. Böhtlingk affirms that this contains no true archaisms, with the exception of augmentless tenses, but only new analogical formations; Jacobi does not qualify Böhtlingk's statement. I take exception to this, and submit the following true Vedic archaisms which are found in both Mbh. and R.: 1. double sandhi, which is very frequent in the Kashmere recension of the *Atharva Veda*, and in the *Kāuśika Sūtra*; 2. nom. pl. neuter of the *a*-declension in *-ā* which is found a few times in Mbh. and once (or possibly twice) in R.<sup>1</sup>; 3. imperative in *-tāt*, found once in Mbh. and R.; 4. *mā* with augmented tense; 5. sporadic absence of reduplication in the perfect; 6. perfect middle participle, found once in R.<sup>2</sup> and in Mbh. Moreover Mbh. and R. have a number of verb-forms that are found in Vedic, but not in Classical Sanskrit. In the following list, which is compiled

<sup>1</sup> See below, Decl. of nouns and adj., *a*-stems.

<sup>2</sup> See below, 807.

from Whitney's Root-Book, though supplemented in a few instances by my own collections, the periods in which the forms are quotable are added in parentheses. The forms are usually given in the third person singular of the active in the case of finite forms, even if this person sometimes is not actually quotable. The appended 'etc.' is omitted, as Whitney in the preface to his Root-Book, p. ix, admits that he has not used it consistently. The list is divided into seven groups: 1. where the forms are found in the various *Saṁhitās* and in Epic Sanskrit; 2. where they are found in the various *Saṁhitās*, the *Brāhmaṇas*, and Epic Sanskrit; 3. where the forms are peculiar to the *Brāhmaṇas* and Epic Sanskrit; 4. where they occur in the *Brāhmaṇas*, Upanishads, and Epic Sanskrit; 5. where the forms are found in the Upanishads and Epic Sanskrit; 6. where the forms are found in the various *Saṁhitās*, *Brāhmaṇas*, Upanishads, *Sūtras*, and Epic Sanskrit; 7. where the forms are peculiar to the *Sūtras* and Epic Sanskrit.

## 1.

Pres. [6.] *stuvate* (AV.E.).

Perf. *nanāśa* (V.E.); *mamarṣu* (RV.E.); *suśāva suśuma* (V.E. *su* 'press').

Aor. [2.] *druhas*, *-han* (V.E.).

Aor. [5.] *asedhis* (RV.E.).

Aor. [7.] *amṛkṣatu* (RV.E.).

Gerund. *-druhya* (MS.E.); *paktvā* (AV.E. BhP.).

Middle voice. *krośate* (RV.E.); *tataksē* (V.E.); *naḍayate* (RV.E.); *harṣayate* (V.E.).

Intensive. *doḍhavi* (V.E.); *nānaḍati* [3d pl.] (V.E.).

Causative. *ḍipyate* (TB.E.); *naḍayati*, *-te* (RV.E.).

## 2.

Pres. [1.] *bhartsati* (AV.? KB.E.).

Fut. [1.] *kraṁsyati* *-te* (AV.B.E.).

## 3.

Pres. [1.] *sphoṭati* (B.E.).

Pres. [2.] *ghrāti* (KB.E.).

Perfect. *ruruwire* (B.), *rurāva* (E.).

Aor. [3.] *adīdipat* (B.E.).

Fut. [1.] *jayiṣyati* (JB.E.); *notsyati* (E.), *notsyate* (B.E.); *bhotsyati* (B.), *-te* (E.); *hāsyate* (B.E. *hā* 'go forth').

Fut. [2.] *jetā* (B.E.); *hartā* (B.E.); *datā* (B.E.).

Active voice. *padhyati* (AB.E.).

Middle voice. *rechate* (SB.E.); *kṛtate*; *bhāṣayate* (B.E.).

Aor. pass. 3d sing. *abhedī* (B.E.).

Intensive. *nānadyate* (JB.E.).

Desiderative. *īpsate* (B.E.).

## 4.

Fut. [1.] *varṣisyati* (B.U.), *-te* (E.).

Fut. [2.] *bhavitā* (B.U.E.; BhP. three times).

## 5.

Pres. [1.] *grhṇati*, *-te* (U.E.); *jānati*, *-te* (U.E.).

Pres. [6.] *archati* (U.E.).

Perfect. *cukopa* (U.<sup>1</sup>E.).

Middle voice. *krāmate* (U.E.); *dhamate* (U.E.).

## 6.

Aor. [4.] *ahārṣit* (V.B.U.S.E.).

## 7.

Past participle. *uṣita-* (S.E. *vas* 'shine').

Middle voice. *glāyate* (S.E.); *jighrate* (S.E.).

Although in the main, as was said above, the language of the Rāmāyaṇa is the same as that of the Mahābhārata, yet there are some archaisms and peculiarities which are found in Mbh. but not in R., and vice versa. Examples of Vedic archaisms found in Mbh. but not in R. are: dvandva compounds like *indrā-viṣṇū*; the acc. pl. *vṛṣṭyas* (cf. Vedic *aryas*); the optative of the first aorist of the root *ji*, *jāyyāt* (peculiar to JUB. and Mbh.). Peculiarities found in Mbh. but not in R. are: the optative *syāvas*, and the acc. sing. *duhitām*.

Vedic archaisms found in R. but not in Mbh. are: nom. pl. of *ā*-stems in *-vas* (see below, 342 k); nom. pl. fem. of derivative *i*-stems in *-is* (see below, 363g); the sandhi of pragrahya vowels (see below, 138g, and Whitney, Gr. 138g). Furthermore there are quite a number of verb-forms which R. has in common with the older language, which have not been found in Mbh. Thus the present *yakṣati*, etc., is peculiar to RV. and R.; the present *dharṣati*, etc., is found only in VS. and R.; the middle

*grasate*, etc., occurs only in V., B., BhP., and R.<sup>1</sup>; the participle *stunvāna-* is peculiar to U. and R.; the gerund *yātvā* appears only in B., S., and R.; the future active *āsiṣya-* is peculiar to TS. and R.; the gerund *āsivā* is found only in B., S., and R.; the gerund *pītvā* is peculiar to V., B., S., BhP., and R. Peculiarities of R. not yet noted in Mbh. are: gen. pl. of *ā*-stems in *-ānām* (see below, *U*-stems, gen. pl.); acc. sing. of *ī*-stems in *-īm* (see below, *I*-stems, acc. sing.); inst. pl. of *ī*-stems in *-ībhis* (see below, *I*-stems, inst. pl.); gen. sing. of derivative *ā*-stems in *-ayā* (see below, derivative *Ā*-stems, gen. sing.); voc. sing. of *r*-stems in *-ā* (see below, *R*-stems, voc. sing.); the first sing. *brāmi*; etc.

This seems to be the proper place to record a few forms which, though unrecorded by Whitney, are found in the Rāmāyaṇa.<sup>2</sup> The following list is divided into four groups: 1. where the form is authorized by the native grammarians, but non-quotable elsewhere; 2. where the forms are found in R. as well as Mbh.; 3. where the forms are registered as occurring in Classical Sanskrit only; 4. where the forms are not recorded by Whitney as being authorized by the native grammarians, and are non-quotable elsewhere.

## 1.

Under this heading I have noted: *phaliṣyati*, vi. 92. 53 (*√phal* 'burst'); *yoyudhyete*, vi. 54. 17 (*√yudh* 'fight'); *vardhiṣyate*, v. 39. 11; *paspande*, vi. 60. 52; *pra-skanditum*, iii. 31. 48; *babhrāje*, v. 1. 71.

## 2.

*Sma* is found in R. too often to quote in extenso. See below, 542a.

The imperative *bruvadhvam* occurs at iv. 64. 22.\*

The future middle *jīviṣye* is found at v. 40. 10.

<sup>1</sup> This and the following verb-forms are not recorded in Whitney's Root-Book as occurring in BhP. or R. *Grasate*, BhP. x. 34. 6; R. i. 56. 18. *Stunvāna-*, R. vi. 90. 4. *Āsiṣyati*, R. iv. 54. 16. *Upāsivā*, R. i. 1. 97. *Yātvā*, R. ii. 50. 1. *Pītvā*, BhP. vi. 1. 59, x. 19. 12; R. ii. 12. 76, vi. 4. 4, vi. 60. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Böhtlingk, l. c., and the verb-forms cited in the preceding paragraph.

## 3.

*Upāsya*, i. 35. 1; *āḍayan*, iii. 5. 11; *ṛhitum*, v. 38. 42; *cukājatus*, vi. 90. 49; *cukṣobha*, vi. 56. 25; *vi-cinvadhvam*, i. 39. 13; *natvā*, v. 5. 23; *-pupāre*, iv. 46. 6; *babhañjire*, vi. 4. 65; *bhuñktvā*, v. 54. 43, 44, 47; *loptum*, vi. 24. 28; *spanditum*, vi. 70. 74. For convenience, I here add *harṣamāṇa*, vi. 73. 10, vi. 90. 4 (*harṣate* etc. V.C.); *-dhita-*, vi. 90. 47 (V.C.).

## 4.

The future *pariprekṣyati*, vi. 32. 25; the future *kāṅkṣiṣye*, vi. 67. 80; the gerund *nikucya*, v. 1. 36; the infinitive *-kālītum*, iii. 24. 13; the infinitive *-karṣītum*, iv. 54. 11; the gerund *krīḍitvā*, v. 9. 34; the optative *tudṃyām* (*√tud*), iii. 49. 4; the causative *tarjāpayati*, vi. 34. 9; the infinitive *tyaktum* (*tyaktu-* E.), v. 25. 19; the gerund *vinarditvā*, iii. 30. 18; the perfect *babhakṣa*, vi. 67. 93; the future *bhakṣiṣye*, iv. 56. 5; the past participle *bhartsita*, v. 25. 4; the gerunds *paribhartsya*, v. 22. 46, *nirbhartsya*, vi. 65. 1; the causative *bhartsāpayati*, vi. 34. 9; the passive *bhartsyamānā*, v. 26. 4; the pluperfect *ababhramat*, i. 43. 9; the active future *modiṣyasi*, vi. 33. 34; the gerund *yuddhvā*, vi. 7. 10; the reduplicated aorist middle *pra-saśaṁsanta* (the active *aśaṁsat* is authorized by the native grammarians, but is nowhere quotable), iv. 55. 18.

## SYSTEM OF SOUNDS.

## Quantity of vowels.

1. Short for long.<sup>1</sup>

Occasionally a short vowel is substituted for a long vowel when the meter favors the former; especially is this so in the case of a final long vowel of the prior member of a compound. Examples where the shortened vowel is not the final vowel of the prior member of a compound are: *kāruṇaveditvād*, i. 2. 14; *prabhāvam*, i. 36. 27; *apraṣṭāve*, iii. 29. 19; *jahātām*, vi. 8. 18 (transfer-form<sup>2</sup> for *jahūtām*; cf. *akurvātām*, Mbh. i. 76. 9, cited by Hopkins, Epic, p. 247). Whether *patniṣu*, i. 37. 6, *maharddhinām*, v. 8. 5, *jñātīnām*, vi. 126. 43, belong under this rubric is uncertain: see below, derivative *ī*-stems: transfers to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hopkins, Epic, p. 247.<sup>2</sup> Impv. act. 3d du.: comm. *jahetām*.

the *i*-declension; *i*-stems: gen. pl. in *-īnām*. With these are to be compared: *patnībhis*, ĀpSS. xiv. 15. 2, TB. ii. 3. 10<sup>2</sup>; *grāmaṇībhis*, ĀpSS. xx. 4. 3; *ucchrīyamāṇa*-, ibid. ix. 11. 26. Examples where the shortened vowel is the final vowel of the prior member of a compound are: *lakṣmīvardhana*-, i. 18. 28, iii. 12. 22, iii. 15. 30, v. 31. 3; *lakṣmīsampanna*-, i. 18. 30; *sapatnīvṛddhāu* (where *sapatnī* is felt to be one word), ii. 8. 26; *jagatīpatevān*, v. 14. 28; *jagatīpate*-, v. 30. 44; *akṣauhīṇīṣa-tam*, vi. 41. 96. With these are to be compared: *strīyaṇjana*-, ĀpSS. viii. 6. 1; *garbhīṇī-prāyaścitta*-, ibidem ix. 19. 14; *nadīdvīpā*,<sup>1</sup> ibidem xv. 16. 2, 3. In Prākṛit, furthermore, we have the same phenomenon. Thus: *naīpāra*=*nadīpāra*-, etc.

## 2. Long for short.<sup>2</sup>

Less frequently is a long vowel substituted for a short one. The majority of instances are metri causa. In the citations below, the prolonged vowel is set in Clarendon: *anūdake*, i. 18. 50; *durākṛāmān*, i. 21. 17; *prakṛījanās*, i. 42. 1; *udāharas*, ii. 63. 26; *anūcitas*, v. 36. 21; *īti*, v. 58. 34, vii. 32. 65. It is uncertain whether cases like *devas'rutīm*, *śaktībhis*, etc., belong under this rubric: see below, *i*-stems: acc. sing. in *-īm*, inst. pl. in *ībhis*.

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## 3. *Pluti* or protraction.

In the Bombay text of 1902 the protracted vowel is regularly written as short, but with a figure 3 after it; if the next word begin with a vowel or diphthong, the hiatus thus occasioned remains (Whitney, Gr. § 138e):

*sūta3 ity eva cābhāṣya*, ii. 49. 13;

*tata3 etad bhavato itī*, ii. 103. 25.

Here Sl. reads *tāta*; but Govinda and Maheśvaratīrtha, as cited by Jacobi (p. 112), read *tatāi* 'tat te bh-.

## Rules of euphonic combination.

125d]

### *Hiatus*: 1. within *pāda*.<sup>3</sup>

Hiatus within the *pāda* is fairly common; the most frequently occurring case of it is the combination *-a ṛ-*. Examples

<sup>1</sup> The citations of ĀpSS. in this section are taken from Garbe's introduction to his edition.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hopkins, Epic, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> These collections are not complete even for books i-iii.

are: *hatvā aśvān apātayat*, vi. 79. 30; *mahoragam grhya ivāṇ-dajeshvaraḥ*, v. 47. 35; *citrakarma ivābhāti*, vii. 28. 41; *vālmīkaye ca ṛṣaye*, i. 2. 26; *agnihotre ca ṛṣinā*, ii. 119. 6; *sarve ca ṛtavas tatra*, iii. 73. 8; *devagandharvarṣīyakṣarākṣasāis*, vii. 35. 65; *grhya ṛksarajās tāu tu*, vii. 37<sup>1</sup>. 45; *rāghavo'tha ṛṣer vākyaṃ*, vii. 37<sup>2</sup>. 2; *athā ārdhvaṃ tu gatvā vāi*, vii. 23<sup>1</sup>. 2; *gaṇḡā iva mahāgajās*, vii. 31. 36; *eṣā eva tanuḥ pūrṇā*, vii. 69. 28; *vasante iva sālināḥ*, ii. 67. 28; *yatrāste ṛṣayaḥ smṛtāḥ*, vii. 23<sup>4</sup>. 12; *velām etya ivārṇavaḥ*, vii. 8. 1.

At i. 9. 16 is found *na gacchema ṛṣer bhītāḥ*. It is indeed possible to assume here an optative *gacchemas*, with primary ending (cf. *syāmas*, etc., 542a, below); but, in view of the undoubted instances of *-a ṛ-* quoted above, it seems more probable that hiatus is to be assumed.

125d] *Hiatus: 2. at the end of odd pāda.*<sup>1</sup>

Hiatus here seems to be confined to no particular combinations. In the citations the *pāda* is indicated by a, etc., and the initial word of the succeeding *pāda* is given in parentheses:

*pratyaabhijñāya (arjunāya)*, vii. 33. 5 c; *mā . . . . gamiṣ-yāma (aprasādyā)*, vii. 35. 63 e; *sanituṣṭa (aviśādam)* vii. 36. 16 c; *rāma (iha)*, iii. 13. 4 a; *ca (idam)* vi. 90. 4 c; *ca (ṛṣi-nām)*, ii. 92. 31 a; *vasiṣṭhena (ṛṣinā)* vii. 59<sup>1</sup>. 2c; *ca (ṛkṣasya)*, i. 3. 26 a; *ca (ekasya)*, i. 3. 29 a; *śrutvā (ṛṣimadhye)*, P. i. 69. 13 a, By. i. 69. 13 c; *śrutvā (ṛṣyaśṛṅgavacas)*, P. i. 9. 48 a; *dṛṣtvā (ṛṣyaśṛṅgam)*, P. i. 9. 43 a; *śrutvā (ṛkṣa-)*, vii. 40. 13 a; *rājā (idam)*, ii. 15. 25 a; *brahmā (indrasya)*, vii. 33. 4c; *iti (uktam)*, i. 21. 8a; *api (ṛṣyamākam)*, iv. 11. 76 c; *-bhedī (ṛg-)*, vi. 105. 13 a; *tu (ṛtānām)*, P. i. 19. 1a; *mahābāho (ṛṣa-yas)*, vii. 37<sup>4</sup>. 8a; *bhadraṃ te (iti)*, i. 14. 17 c; *bhadraṃ te (iha)*, iii. 56<sup>1</sup>. 11c; *sarve (ṛṣayas)*, vii. 37<sup>2</sup>. 52a. For *samanujñātā (amṛta-)*, vi. 28. 7a, as a Vedic archaism, comm. cites Pāṇini viii. 3. 19: but cf. Whitney, 134c, and NIV., p. 340, 4.

135d] *Sandhi of -e ā- gives -e-.*

I have noticed three instances where initial *ā-* is lost after final *-e*, namely: *antardadhe* "tmānam, vi. 73. 26; *yuddhe* "hva-yati, vii. 34. 2; *te* "jñām, vii. 67. 13. The comm. says at vi. 73. 26: *antardadhe* "tmānam ity atrākāralopaś chāndasaḥ; at

<sup>1</sup> These collections are not complete even for books i-iii.



vii. 34. 2: *yuddhe* "hvayati: *yuddhanimittam āhvayatīty arthaḥ*; at vii. 67. 13: *te ājñām ity arthaḥ*; *sandhir āraḥ*. In Mbh. *te* "jñayā is found instead of *ta ājñayā*. Nilakanṭha, as reported by Holtzmann, offers two solutions, namely: an archaic elision of *ā-* is to be assumed; or else we have an old word *jñā-* in the sense of *ājñā-*. Holtzmann regards the latter explanation as correct. Furthermore in Mbh. the initial *ā* of *ātmānam* is occasionally elided after a final *-e*. As regards the rationale of the sandhi respecting *yuddhe* "hvayati and *te* "jñām, it appears to me that the following is plausible: the initial *ā-* of *āhvayati* and *ājñām* was shortened to *ā-* before two consonants (as in Pāli and Prākṛit), and then the regular sandhi of *-e ā-* to *-e-* took place. The elision of the initial vowel of *ātmānam* is only apparent; in Vedic, the abbreviated form *tmān-* is found beside *ātmān-*.

138g] *Sandhi of pragrahya vowels: 1. -ī i- gives -ī-*.

I have noted but one example of a dual in *-ī* combined with a following *i-*, namely, *sarasīva*, vi. 97. 1. The comm., touching on this, properly remarks that the sandhi is Vedic—*sarasī iva*; *sandhir āraḥ*.

138g] *Sandhi of pragrahya vowels: 2. -o a- gives -o-*.

After the final *o* of *aho* the initial *a-* of *atibalaavat* is elided at vii. 27. 7, and the initial *a-* of *asya* at vii. 30. 3. The comm. notes the latter case and correctly says that the sandhi is Vedic.

*Sandhi of pragrahya vowels: 3. -e a- gives -e-*.

The initial *a-* of *atidharmikāu* is elided after the final *-e* of *jajñāte* at vii. 102. 15. The comm. says the sandhi is Vedic. I know no authority for his statement.

176a] *Sandhi of eṣas.*

Although *eṣas* regularly loses its *-s* before consonants, yet at vii. 69. 35 *eṣo pūrvasya* occurs. This sandhi is, apparently, not induced by the meter. In Mbh. we find a parallel in *eṣo hi*, vii. 192. 13, which is, however, to avoid an anapaest in the prior *pāda* of a half-śloka: see Holtzmann, p. 4 (top), Hopkins, Epic, p. 247. So *eṣo hi*, By. vi. 28. 23. Compare Gāthā *eṣo*, Pkt. Pāli *eso*.—At vii. 37. 1 by double sandhi of *-as ṛ-* we have *eṣarkṣarajās* instead of the regular *eṣa ṛkṣ-*.

175c] *Sandhi of -as r- gives -o r- at the end of odd pāda.*

I have noted but two examples of this, namely, *mahātmāno ṛṣayas* (i. 60. 34) and *bhūto ṛṣyamūkam* (iv. 11. 64). That is, the final -as of *mahātmānas* and *bhūtas* is treated like final -as before a sonant consonant (Whitney, Skt. Gr. 175a).

133c] *Double sandhi: 1. -e i- becomes -e-.*

Examples of this are fairly numerous, but it should be noted that the *i-* is always the initial *i-* of *iti*, whereas in Mbh. this limitation does not obtain. Instances are: *karisyeti*, i. 21. 8; *pravāḥyati*, ii. 37. 34; *vatsyāmahe*, ii. 52. 28; *sūti*, iii. 60. 35; *priyati*, iii. 61. 29, iv. 6. 17; *raṁsyāmahe*, iii. 69. 14; *sumitreti*, v. 25. 11. The comm. touching upon these cases, says *sandhir āṛṣaḥ* or else *ikāralopa āṛṣaḥ*.

176b] *Double sandhi: 2. -as a- becomes -ā-.*

I have noted but one case where -as a- combines to -ā-, namely, *naś avamānya* at P. i. 34. 20:

*mā bhūt sa kālo dūrmedhaḥ  
pītarāṁ satyavādīnam  
nāvamānya svadharmēṇa  
svayānvaram upāśmahe.*

By. at i. 32. 21 (the passage corresponding to P. i. 34. 20) reads *avamānya*; but the comm. notes the variant reading *nāvamānya* and has an elaborate note on it: '*nāvamānya*' *iti pāṭhas tu kvacit ko 'papāṭhaḥ, tathā pāṭhe na iti cchedaḥ: chāndasaṁ dīrghatvam; no 'smākaṁ sa kālo mā bhūd ity anvayaḥ; another variant is also given by the comm., namely: no 'vamānyasva. In Pāli this phenomenon occurs in the formula: esāhaṁ bha-vantaṁ Gotamaṁ saraṇaṁ gacchāmi, SN. iii. 4, p. 85.*

176b] *Double sandhi: 3. -as ā- becomes -o-.*

I have noted two instances where -as ā- combines to -o-, namely, *eṣo* "*hitāgniḥ*, vi. 109. 23, and so "*śramāvasathas*, vii. 81. 12. The text of the first passage is:

*eṣo "hitāgniḥ ca mahātapās ca  
vedāntagaḥ karmasu cāgryaśūraḥ  
etasya yat pretagatasya kṛtyaṁ  
tat kartum icchāmi tava prasādāt.*

- \* Here the comm. says: *eṣo "hitāgnir ity āṛṣaḥ saṁdhiḥ; āhi-tāgnir iti cchedaḥ.* The text of the other is:

*s'rutvā tāsāṁso vākyaṁ  
so "śramāvasatho janaḥ  
niṣkrānto viṣayāt tasmāt  
sthānān cakre 'tha bāhyataḥ.*

On this the comm. observes: *so "śramāvasatha ity āṛṣaḥ saṁdhiḥ; sa āśramanivāsīty arthaḥ.* Böhtlingk, against the comm., assumes that *āryo hvayati*, ii. 34. 11, and *bālino hvānam*, iv. 12. 15, are also examples of the loss of initial *ā-* after final *-as*.

176b] *Double sandhi: 4. -as i- becomes -e-.*

I have met but one instance of this in the whole text, namely, *eṣeva*, vii. 36. 47, which the comm. notes—*eṣeva: eṣa iva; saṁdhir āṛṣaḥ.* The comm. at vii. 36. 42 has *siṅhaḥ kuṅjara-ruddheva* as a variant to *-ddho vā* of the text. If his variant be adopted we must assume double sandhi of *-as i-*.

176b] *Double sandhi: 5. -as u- becomes -o-.*

Examples of this are very frequent: *socyatām*, i. 9. 20; *tatot-thāya*, i. 19. 21; *sovāca*, i. 58. 4; *divolkās*, ii. 4. 17; *rāgha-vojvalitas* (a reading mentioned by the comm.), ii. 16. 31; *tatovāca*, ii. 51. 8, iii. 13. 12; *saṁvadantopatiṣṭhante*, ii. 67. 26; *bahuśoktavān*, iii. 66. 17; *mulitotpatya*, vi. 62. 9; *lakṣmaṇo-vāca*, vi. 84. 6; *vyādhayopekṣitās*, vii. 5. 8; *pulastyovāca*, vii. 33. 13; *sotsasarja*, vii. 32. 69; etc.

176b] *Double sandhi: 6. -as e- becomes -āi-.*

The sole example of this phenomenon that I have noted is *eṣāiva*, vi. 26. 23, which the comm. explains by *eṣa eva* with the remark that this sandhi is Vedic—*saṁdhir āṛṣaḥ.*

177b] *Double sandhi: 7. -ās a- becomes -ā-.*

Instances of this are numerous. Examples are *kāñcanālan-kṛtābhavan*, i. 14. 24, = *-kṛtās abhavan*<sup>1</sup>; *yasyāham*, i. 20. 3, = *yasyās aham*; *tasyāyam*, i. 24. 10, = *tasyās ayam*; *tasyāvalepanam*, i. 43. 6, 35, = *tasyās ava-*; *gatābhimukham*, i. 45. 43, =

<sup>1</sup> Or *bhavan* as augmentless imperfect, as the comm. takes it.

*gatās abhi-*; *aprajāsmi*, ii. 20. 37, = *aprajās asmi*(?)<sup>1</sup>; *nāsyāntam*, ii. 84. 2, = *na asyās antam*; *hṛṣṭādṛṣṭaparākramam*, iii. 20. 12, = *hṛṣṭās adṛṣṭa-*; *ugratapābhavat*, iv. 60. 8, = *ugratapās abhavat* (?).<sup>2</sup>

177b] *Double sandhi*: *8. -ās ṛ- becomes -ār-*.

I have noted but one example of this, namely, *ṛtanārṇkṣa-*, vi. 41. 51, which the comm. explains by *ṛtanāḥ ṛkṣety atra sandhir āṛṣaḥ*.

#### DECLENSION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

##### A- stems.

329c] *Acc. pl. neuter in -ā.*

A questionable case of this, namely, *kṛtapratikṛtā*, is found at vi. 79. 26:

*viddham anyonyagātṛeṣu  
dviguṇaṁ vardhate balaṁ  
kṛtapratikṛtānyonyaṁ  
kurutām tām rapājire.*

On this the comm. remarks *kṛtapratikṛtā kṛtapratikṛtāni*: *ārṣo dādeṣo vibhakteḥ*; *kurutām akurutām*: *adabhāva āṛṣaḥ*. The meter shows that this is not a textual peculiarity (as in *viśvānyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭe*, AV. vii. 81. 1, for *viśvāny anyo bhū-* etc. of RV. x. 85. 18); but rather than take it as a real archaism, perhaps we should regard it as an attempt at avoidance of an unusual repetition of similar syllables, such as we see in *iradhyāi* of RV. i. 134. 2, for *\*iradhadhyāi*, or in *viśo-viśaḥ praviśivāṁsam imahe* of AV. iv. 23. 1 (cf. *viśvasyāṁ viśi praviviśivāṁsam imahe* of TS. iv. 7. 15).

The comm. at vi. 88. 57 takes *kṛtapratikṛtā* again as acc. pl. neuter; but I do not see how to construe it as such. The text is:

*vyāśṛyata mahad dīvyāṁ  
kavacāṁ lakṣmaṇasya tu  
kṛtapratikṛtānyonyam  
babhūvatur abhidrutāu.*

<sup>1</sup> Comm.: *aprajāsmi mānasaśokābhīnayaḥ. samāsāntābhāvo 'nitya-tvāt. sandhir vārṣatvāt.*

<sup>2</sup> Or *bhavat* as augmentless imperfect, against the comm.

Comm.: *anyonyam kṛtapratikṛtā: āṛṣo dā . kṛtapratikṛte yattāu babhūvatur ity arthaḥ*. Holtzmann, p. 12, § 329, is in error when he states that the neuter pl. in *-ā* is found but once in Mbh., namely, in the hymn to the Aśvins: *bhavanāni viśvā* is found at xiii. 102. 55, and *bhavanānīhu viśvā* occurs at vii. 201. 77. Generally *sapta* takes the place of *viśvā*. See Hopkins, Epic, p. 251.

#### U- stems.

##### 1. Loc. sing. in *-o*(?).

At P. (ed. 1898) i. 16. 1 *viṣṇo* apparently is a locative singular. Thus:

*putratvaṁ tu gate viṣṇo*.

This is clearly a misprint for *-āu*, which P. (ed. 1879), Sl., and By. (i. 17. 1) have. Were *viṣṇo* a genuine form and not a typographical error, it would be most archaic. The sole Vedic example of a loc. sing. in *-o* from an *u*-stem that Whitney (342 f) gives, is a neuter, *sāno*.

342 k; NIV. p. 415] 2. Nom. pl. in *-vas*.

I have noted but a single instance of this, namely, *prabhaviṣṇvas*, vii. 5. 14:

*prabhaviṣṇvo bhavāmeti  
parasparam anuvratāḥ*.

On this the comm. observes: *prabhaviṣṇvaḥ: yaṁ āṛṣaḥ*. Even in Vedic the nom. pl. in *-vas* (*-uas*) is rare. Böhrtlingk's emendation of *-vo* to *-avo* appears to me unwarranted.

##### 3. Gen. pl. in *-ānām*.

I have noted two instances of this, namely, *gṛdhnānām*, vi. 75. 14, and, in the next line, *-manyānām*.<sup>1</sup> They both are metri causa and are expressly noted by the comm.

#### I- stems.

##### 1. Acc. sing. in *-im*.

Instances of this are not common. Examples are: *vedaśrutīm*, iii. 50. 22 (beside *vedaśrutīm*, vii. 2. 17); *devaśrutīm*, iv. 6. 5; *smṛtīm*, v. 15. 33. These are metri causa, and are either

<sup>1</sup> Both previously noted by Hopkins, Epic, p. 247.

instances of transfer to the long vowel declension such as we see in the case-forms *-āi*, *-ās*, and *-ām*, or else their *-i* is a purely metrical prolongation of *-ī*. See above, Quantity of vowels: 2.: long for short. Compare the instrumental pl. in *-ibhis* below.

2. *Gen. sing. masc. in -inas.*

I have noted but two examples of this, namely: *ariṣṭaneminas*, iv. 66. 4 (comm.: *ariṣṭaneminah: kṣāyapasya; nāntatvam āraṇam*); *aśvapatinas*, vii. 100. 4 (comm.: *aśvapatinah num āraṇah; aśvapater ity arthaḥ*). Unless I am mistaken, *ariṣṭaneminas* occurs in book i also. The ending *-inas* is by transfer to the *in*-declension. Compare Pāli *aggino*(=*\*agninas*), Kuhn, p. 79; Prākṛit *aggīno*(=*\*agninas*), Pischel, §§ 377, 379. With the use of *n* in the gen. sing. masc. of an *-i*-stem, may be compared the use of *n* in the Vedic gen. sing. masc. *cāruṇas* (NIV. p. 410 bottom). See also below, R-stems: masculines from stems in *-ṭr*.

3. *Acc. dual in -ināu.*

At v. 35. 37 *-pānināu* is found instead of *-pānī*. This is a transfer to the *in*-declension.

4. *Acc. pl. in -ayas.*

Hopkins, Epic, p. 264, footnote, adduces two certain examples of this, namely: *drakṣyasy oṣadhayo dīptāḥ*, vi. 74. 32 (comm.: *oṣadhayo dīptāḥ: dīptā oṣadhīr ity arthaḥ*), and *sāntvayitvā prakṛtayaḥ*, vi. 112. 19 (comm.: *prakṛtayaḥ: prakṛtīḥ*). A less certain case is *-vr̥ṣṭayas* at v. 14. 10:

*utpatadbhir dvijaganāḥ  
pukṣāḥ vātāḥ samāhatāḥ  
anekavarṇā vividhā  
mumucūḥ puspavr̥ṣṭayaḥ.*

Comm.: *vr̥kṣā iti śeṣaḥ; puspavr̥ṣṭayaḥ: puspavr̥ṣṭīḥ*. The names of several kinds of trees are mentioned in the preceding lines, which somewhat justifies the comm. Moreover the verb *muc* is transitive and not intransitive. Compare NIV. pages 395, 384, and 410 end.

5. *Inst. pl. in -ibhis.*

I have noted four examples, all of which are metri causa, namely: *citrāpattibhis*, iv. 25. 23; *rathasaktibhis*, vi. 71. 14,

*śaktībhis*, vi. 86. 21; *aśmībhis*, vii. 7. 49. The -i- of the first three is to avoid a diiambus at the close of the prior pāda of a half-śloka. See Hopkins, *Epic*, p. 248. The -i- of the last example is to make the fourth syllable of a triṣṭubh line long, so as to conform to the predominant type of triṣṭubhs (— — — — —) in the Rāmāyaṇa.

### 6. Gen. pl. in -inām.

Examples of -inām for -īnām are: *harīṇām*, iv. 44. 16; *mahardulhīnām*, v. 8. 5; *jñātīnām*, vi. 126. 43. These are metri causa; they are either transfers from the i-declension to the in-declension, or else they are simply metrical shortenings for -īnām. See above, Quantity of vowels: 1. short for long.

343d]

### 7. Declension of pati-

The inst. sing. *patinā* is found at both By. i. 2. 12 and P. i. 2. 15 (the corresponding passage). P. i. 70. 35 has *patinā rahitā*, corresponding to By's *patyā virahitā* (i. 70. 36). The comm. at By. i. 70. 36 mentions P's reading and remarks that the ending -nā is Vedic—'*patinā rahitā*' *iti pāṭhe nā-bhāva āśaḥ*. Other examples of *patinā* are at By. v. 26. 34 and vii. 49. 17, which last instance was previously pointed out by Hopkins, *JAOS.* xx.<sup>2</sup> p. 222. The genitive sing. *-patinas* has been noticed above, 2. gen. sing.

### Radical ā- stems.

354b]

### Nom. sing. in -s.

*Suprajās* as a nom. sing. fem. occurs at By. ii. 70. 17 and ii. 96. 7. Corresponding to the second example, both Sl. and G. have -ās at ii. 97. 8 and ii. 106. 7 respectively; corresponding to the first example Sl. (ii. 70. 17) has -ās but G. (ii. 72. 18) -ā. Perhaps this is not to be treated as a root-stem: cf. the Vedic transition-stem *-prajas*, *NIV.*, p. 556.

### Diphthong stems: go.

#### 1. Nom. pl.

At ii. 47. 12. *-gās* occurs as nom. pl. The comm. notes the form and says that it is Vedic—'*gā*' *ity ārsam*. This is supported by its occurrence as a nom. pl. at *ĀpŚS.* x. 26. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See Hopkins, *Epic*, p. 276.



361c]

2. *Acc. pl.*

*Gāvas* as acc. pl. is found at iii. 14. 28. The comm. correctly explains the form: *gāvaḥ gā ity arthaḥ*. G. avoids the construction as acc. pl. by reading *rohinyām jajñire gāvo* (iii. 20. 29) instead of *rohiny ajanayad gāvo* (By. iii. 14. 28). Cf. Pkt. *gāo* = \**gāvas* (Pischel, § 393). From memory I can cite *gāvas* used as acc. pl. once in BhP. Professor Hopkins tells me that in Mbh. also, at iv. 47. 34, it is used as acc. pl.

## Derivative ā- stems.

*Gen. sing.*

An instrumental form with the function of the genitive and with gen. pronoun and participle in concord with it, is seen at v. 25. 9, namely, *sītayā* :

*tasyāḥ sū dīrghabahulā*  
*vepantīyāḥ sītayā tadā*  
*dadṛśe kampitā veṇī*  
*vyūṭiva parisarpatī.*

The comm. notes the form and remarks that the inst. is here used in the sense of the genitive. It may be charged to the meter.

## Derivative i- stems.

363g; NIV., p. 393] *Nom. pl. -īs.*

The sole instance that I have noted as occurring in books i-iii is *bhāminīs*, ii. 91. 18 ab:

*śakraṁ yās copatiṣṭhanti*  
*brahmāṇaṁ yās ca bhāminīḥ.*

This is metri causa; *-inyāḥ* would have given us in the seventh place a heavy syllable, which, in an even *pāda*, is barred.

363g; NIV., p. 395] *Acc. pl. -yas.*

Instances of this are not common. Examples are: *puṣkarīnyas*, iii. 55. 12; *samālabhantyas*, *svapantyas*, *hasantyas*, *vinīḥśvasantyas*—all at v. 5. 13. Of these, only *puṣkarīnyas* is metri causa (for *-inīs*) to avoid the combination *o u* as the close of

the prior *pāda* of a half-*śloka*;<sup>1</sup> *saṃālabhantya*s, etc., all close triṣṭubh lines. In Mbh. *vilāsiṅgas* is found as acc. pl. at xiii. 104. 19, xiii. 107. 39: cf. Hopkins, Epic, pp. 265, bottom, 266, top.

*Transfers to the ī- declension.*

These are not frequent: in books i-iii I have noted only the nom. pl. *patnayas* (By. i. 36. 22=P. i. 37. 22, By. ii. 65. 29) and the loc. pl. *patniṣu* (By. i. 37. 6=P. i. 38. 6). The comm. notes *patnayas* at By. ii. 65. 29, and *patniṣu* at By. i. 37. 6. *Patnayas* at By. i. 36. 22 (=P. i. 37. 22) stands for *patnyas* in order to avoid a catalectic *pāda* in a *śloka*; at By. ii. 65. 29 it is to avoid a triṣṭubh line in a jagatī stanza. *Patniṣu* stands for *patniṣu* in order to make the seventh syllable of the posterior *pāda* of a half-*śloka* short. Compare *patnibhis* at ĀpŚS. xiv. 15. 2; TB. ii. 3. 10.<sup>2</sup> Possibly *patniṣu* is only a metrical shortening of *patniṣu*. See above under the heading, System of sounds; quantity of vowels : 1. : short for long.

**Derivative ū- stems.**

*Nom. pl. in -ūs (?)*.

Böhtlingk cites *jambūs* (stem *jambū-*) as occurring as a nom. pl. in G. at ii. 100. 27, adding, however, that perhaps the form is only a blunder for *-vās*. On account of the many undoubted cases where the acc. pl. is used as a nominative, I think that we may safely dismiss this suspicion.

**R- stems.**

*1. Acc. sing.*

At vii. 12. 2 *svasar* makes *svasām* as acc. sing. Professor Hopkins tells me that this is found in Mbh. also, namely, at vi. 116. 3 and xiv. 66. 12. Moreover, *duhitār* in Mbh. makes *duhitām* in the same manner. See Holtzmann, p. 12. *Svasā*, the nom. sing. of *svasar*, is the point of departure in this phenomenon: by the analogy of *senā* to *senām* the acc. sing. *svasām* was formed. Prākṛit offers exact parallels in the inflection of *māū* (= *mātā*), *dhīyā* (= *\*duhitā*), and *dhūā* (= *\*dhuktā*). See Fischel, Pkt. Gr., § 392.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hopkins, Epic, pp. 222, 226.

2. *Voc. sing.*

The form *-mātā*, noted by the comm. as archaic, is used as a vocative singular at ii. 40. 38, where it stands *metri causa* for *mātar*:

*tato halahalāśabdo  
jajñe rāmasya prsthataḥ  
narāṇām preksya rājānaṁ  
sīdantam bhṛśudūḥkhitam  
hā rāmeti janāḥ kecīd  
rāmamūtetī cāpare  
antaḥpurasaṁyuddham ca  
krośantam paryadevayan.*

In Pāli, *pitā* is used as *voc. sing.* as well as *nom. sing.*, and in Prākṛit, *piā* (= *pitā*), according to the native grammarians, may also be used as *voc. sing.*, but examples are not quotable. A close parallel is Pkt. *bhattā* (= *bhartā*), which is used as a *voc. sing.* and also as *nom. sing.* See Fischel, §§ 390, 391; Kuhn, p. 84.

373c]

3. *Acc. pl.*

*Mātaras* (*nom. pl.* in form) is used as *acc. pl.* at ii. 39. 36; likewise *-dātāras* (*nom. pl.* in form) at vii. 21. 19 occurs twice for *-dātṛn*. Whitney (373c) does not note that *-āras* is ever used as *acc. pl.* like *-aras*; nor does Holtzmann give any instance of it in Mbh. For the employment of *nom. pl.* forms as *acc. pl.*, compare above: Diphthong stems, *go*, 2. *acc. pl.*; Derivative *ī-* stems, *acc. pl.*; below: Consonantal root-stems, stem *ap*; *An-* stems, 2. *acc. pl.* in *-ānas*. Furthermore, Pāli *pitāro* (= *pitaras*), Pkt. *pidaro*, *piyaro* (= *pitaras*), are used as *acc. pl.* and also as *nom. pl.*, and thus present a close parallel to both *mātaras* and *-dātāras*.

371i]

4. *Gen. pl. of nṛ.*

The *gen. pl.* of *nṛ-* is written *nṛṇām* regularly; I have noted but one instance where *nṛṇām* is written, namely, at iii. 43. 33, where *nṛṇām* would be barred by the metre. *Nṛṇām* at ii. 2. 47, ii. 11. 29, and ii. 91. 28, is metrically an iambus; at i. 15. 26 and i. 67. 4, it may be either an iambus or a spondee. It should be noted that *nṛṇām* is the only *gen. pl.* of an *ṛ-stem* that is regularly written with *-ṛ-* in RV., and that here it is metrically often a spondee. See NIV., p. 430.

5. *Masculines from stems in -tr.*

The combination *brahmanā lokakartṛṇā*, occurring at vii. 37.<sup>1</sup> 10, was cited by Hopkins in JAOS. xx.<sup>2</sup>, p. 222. I find it occurring also at vii.10.18. It appears, not only from the sense of the combination, but also from an examination of the passages cited by BR. under *lokakartar*, that the word *brahmanā* is here certainly masculine. The latter passage may be given:

*evam ukte tadā rāma  
brahmanā lokakartṛṇā  
daśagrīva uvācedanī  
kṛtāñjalir athāgratah.*

This departure from ordinary usage may perhaps be compared with the Vedic feminines *dhārīṇā*, *nābhīṇā*, NIV., p. 381 (cf. per contra the Vedic neuter *bhāres*, NIV., p. 385). Furthermore, as regards *u-* stems, "in the Veda we have neuters without *n* and masculines with *n*" (NIV., p. 401). See also NIV., pp. 410, 411. Compare also above, *I-* stems: gen. sing. masc. in *-inas*.

375; NIV., pp. 422-3] 6. *Neuters of stems in -tr.*

An apparent instance of such a neuter is *lokakartṛṇā*. The anomaly here, however, we must consider to be in the use of the neuter form as a masculine: see above, Masculines from stems in *-tr*.

## Consonantal root-stems.

398a; NIV., p. 483] *Stem ap.*

*Āpas* (in form a nom. pl.) is employed as acc. pl. at v. 13. 41 in order to avoid an anapaest immediately before the combination *— —* at the close of the prior pāda of a half-śloka. See Hopkins, Epic, pp. 219, 220. The comm. notes the form and explains it correctly. The use of *āpas* as acc. pl., although an archaism, is one confined mostly to AV. and to the later books of RV.

## As- stems.

415a] *Transfers to a- declension.*

*Durvacas* (cf. Pāli *dubbaco*, Majjh. ii. 5, p. 95) is found as nom. sing. masc. at ii. 1. 24; similarly *ayaśas* at ii. 74. 6. Neither is metri causa for *-ās*. Compare NIV., p. 547 ff.

415a]

*Transfers to ā- declension.*

These are not frequent and are confined mostly to the use of *apsarā-* for *apsaras-*: *-apsarā* (nom. sing.), i. 63. 4; *apsarās* (nom. pl.), i. 45. 32; *apsarāṇām*, i. 45. 34; *atiyaśām*, ii. 31. 2; *pratisrotām*, iii. 5. 36. The form *-apsarā* is not metri causa; *apsarāṇām* stands for *apsarasām* in order to avoid an anapaest before *— —* at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-śloka (see Hopkins, *Epic*, p. 245); the metrical necessities compelling *apsarās*, *atiyaśām*, and *pratisrotām* are too obvious to be worth commenting on. In late Mbh., nom. *-ā* and acc. *-ām* from *as-* stems occur. In Vedic there are also parallel cases: see NIV., p. 549 ff. In connection with *apsaras* above, it should be noted that an acc. sing. *apsarām* is found in AV. Compare Pāli and Prākṛit *accharā* (=Skt. *apsaras-*, but also *apsarā-*), which is declined throughout as an *ā-* stem. See Kuhn, p. 78; Pischel, § 410.

**Is- stems.***Acc. pl. of havis.*

*Haviṣas* at ii. 20. 17 occurs as acc. pl. (so comm.) instead of *haviṇṣi*, in order to produce a diiambus at the close of the posterior pāda of a śloka. Professor Hopkins suggests that *haviṣas* as acc. pl. is due to the analogy of *iṣ* to *iṣas*.

**Us- stems.**

415c; NIV. p. 569] *Transfers to u- declension.*

Although my collections seem to indicate that these are confined to the substitution of *jaṭāyu-* for *jaṭāyus-*, yet probably this is not the case. Examples are: *jaṭāyo* (voc. sing.), iii. 49. 38, 40, iii. 68. 4; *jaṭāyos* (gen. sing.), v. 35. 65. Examples of the regular inflection from the stem *jaṭāyus* are: *jaṭāyuṣam*, iii. 67. 10, iv. 6. 4; *jaṭāyuṣā*, iv. 56. 9; *jaṭāyuṣas*, iv. 56. 14, 23. The loc. sing. *āyuni* is the sole instance in RV. of a transfer of the stem *āyus* 'life' to the *u-* declension.

**An- stems.***1. Nom. pl. -ānas.*

In books i-iii I have noted three instances of this, namely: *mahātmanas*, i. 61. 3; *puṇyakarmanas*, iii. 24. 20; *saṁnata-*

*parvanas*, iii. 39. 12—all of which stand for *-ānas* and produce a diiambus at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-śloka.

2. *Acc. pl. -ānas.*

In books i-iii I have noted but two instances of this, namely: *mahātmānas*, i. 57. 16, 17—both times at the close of an odd pāda and standing for *-ānas* in order to avoid the combination *-o-o-o-o-* in the prior pāda of a half-śloka. See Hopkins, *Epic*, pp. 236, 457 section 46. The comm. notes the first example. P. at i. 57. 15, the passage corresponding to By. i. 57. 16, also reads *mahātmānas*; but at i. 57. 16 (=By. i. 57. 17) *mahābhāgān*. It is doubtful if *kṛtakarmānas* is an acc. pl. at v. 64. 17, as it might equally well be construed as a vocative. Both Pāli and Prākṛit offer similar cases of *-āno* (= *-ānas*) for *\*-ano* (*\*-anas*) in the acc. pl. See Pischel, § 399; Kuhn, p. 73.

**In- stems.**

*Gen. pl. -īnām.*

*Mekhalīnām* as gen. pl. is found at ii. 32. 21. The comm. remarks that the long *-ī-* is Vedic—*mekhalīnām*: *brahmacāriṇām*; *dirgha āṛṣaḥ*. As a matter of fact the *-ī-* is Prākṛitic. The form is used for *-īnām* to avoid an anapaest immediately before *-o-o-* of a pathyā pāda. See Hopkins, *Epic*, p. 220.

**Present active participle.**

*Nom. pl. masc.*

*Vadatas* (in form acc. pl.) at iv. 59. 1 is used as a nominative plural masculine:

*tatas tad amṛtāsvādani  
gṛdhrarājena bhāṣitam  
niśamya vadato hr̥ṣṭās  
te vacaḥ plavagarābhāḥ.*

The comm. notes the absence of the nasal as Vedic (*vadata ity atra num-abhāva āṛṣaḥ*). I am not aware of any authority for this. Elsewhere we have seen accusative plurals substituted for nominative plurals for metrical reasons; and we may assume that such is the case here: the nasalized form would have produced *-o-o-o- - - -* as the prior pāda of half-śloka without caesura after the fifth syllable—in R. a practically unheard of combination.

See Hopkins, *Epic*, pp. 221 section 3, 236, 453 section 26. In this connection it may be observed that in Pāli, in the present active participle, cases which should be formed with strong stem-forms are sometimes made with weak ones. Thus *vajantanī* for *vajantānī*. See Kuhn, p. 77.

**Formation of the feminine stem of participles in -ant.**

449c]

**1. -Atī for -antī.**

Instances of this are not infrequent; but in book i I have noted only *parigarjatīm* and *anicchatī*. Examples are: *parigarjatīm*, i. 26. 18; *anicchatī*, i. 36. 24; *āyacchatīm*, ii. 4. 30; *asūhatī*, ii. 12. 89 (cf. *Epic*, p. 248); *gacchatī*, ii. 32. 8; *anurūdhāvatīm*, ii. 40. 44; *janayatīm*, ii. 95. 16; *abhigacchatīm*, iii. 13. 4; *jīvatīm*, iii. 18. 19, v. 26. 35; *anūsocatīm*, iii. 46. 9; *apaśyati*, iii. 52. 44; *śocatīm*, iii. 72. 26; *vartatīm*, iv. 6. 6; *pralapatīm*, iv. 20. 22; *anicchatīm*, v. 22. 9; *icchatīm*, v. 22. 43 a; *tarjatī*, v. 24. 28; *parisarpatī*, v. 25. 9; *śocatī*, v. 26. 2; *vasatīm*, vi. 126. 42. The comm. notes only two-sevenths of these. Two-thirds of the above instances are in order to produce a diiambus at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-sloka: compare Hopkins, *Epic*, p. 246.

Besides the similar formations in Vedic and Mbh. (for which see Whitney and Holtzmann), BhP. also has some fem. participles in -atī for -antī. Thus: *vikrīdatīm*, viii. 12. 18; *anicchatīm*, viii. 12. 28; *gāyati*, x. 33. 14; *icchatī*, x. 58. 20.

In Prākṛit, moreover, according to Hemacandra, verbs of the first class may form their fem. present participle in -atī as *hasāṇ*=\**hasatī* (Skt. *hasantī*), *vevaṇ*=\**vepatī* (Skt. *vepantī*, usually middle *vepamānā*). See Pischel, § 560.

449j]

**2. -Antī for -atī.**

This substitution is not infrequent, but in book i I have only noted *bruvantyas* and *rudantī* (twice). Examples are: *bruvantyas*, i. 33. 4; *rudantī*, i. 54. 7 (twice), ii. 9. 23; *bruvantīm*, ii. 8. 13; *upahīnsantī*, ii. 9. 4, ii. 9. 10; *jānantī*, ii. 10. 35, ii. 44. 6, v. 35. 6; *pratigṛhṇantīm*, ii. 12. 48; *bruvantī*, ii. 12. 57; *rudantīm*, ii. 12. 75, ii. 40. 44, iv. 24. 25; *mṛdnantī*, ii. 27. 7; *rudantyas*, ii. 65. 29, ii. 76. 22; *prajānantī*, ii. 72. 14; *bruvantīyām*, ii. 104. 27; *vicinvantī*, iii. 42. 32; *bruvantīyās*, v. 24. 22. The comm. does not note a single one of these. Of the twenty-two



instances quoted above, eight are metri causa for -atī; six certainly are not metri causa; the remaining eight are probably not metri causa. Of the eight which are metri causa (*rudantī*, i. 54. 7 a; *upahiṁsantī*, ii. 9. 4, ii. 9. 10; *jānantī*, ii. 10. 35 c; *pratigṛhṇantīm*, ii. 12. 48; *rudantīm*, iv. 24. 25; *prajānantī*, ii. 72. 14; *vicīnantī*), one (*rudantī*) is to avoid the fifth vipulā, which is not found in R.; one (*rudantīm*), to make the fourth syllable of a triṣṭubh line long; the remaining six are to avoid a diiambus at the close of an odd pāda. The six which are clearly not metri causa are: *bruvantyaś*, i. 33. 4; *jānantī*, ii. 44. 6; *rudantyaś*, ii. 65. 29, ii. 76. 22; *bruvantyaṁ*, ii. 104. 27; *bruvantyaś*, v. 24. 22. We cannot help suspecting that some of the remaining eight, which are probably not metri causa, are in part due to faulty assimilation<sup>1</sup> to other fem. participles in -antī. Thus *rudantī* at i. 54. 7d has been assimilated to *rudantī* (pāda a, metri causa) and *krośantī*, both of which are in the same śloka. Similarly *rudantīm*, ii. 40. 44, probably owes its nasal to *krośantīm*, which is in the same śloka.<sup>2</sup> Possibly *bruvantīm*, ii. 8. 13, may have been induced by *cintayantī*, ii. 8. 8. In a like manner *mṛḍnantī*, ii. 27. 7, may have been assimilated to *acintayantī*, ii. 27. 12.

In Mbh. also, participles in -antī for -atī are found. In Prakrit, furthermore, the fem. present active participle is made in -antī regardless of the conjugation. Thus *santī* = Skt. *satī*, *apāvāntī* = Skt. *apṛāpṇvatī*. See Pischel, § 560.

449g] 3. Formation of feminine participle of roots in ā, of the root class.

Hopkins (JAOS. xx.<sup>2</sup>, p. 222; Epic, p. 250) cites a couple of examples where roots which belong to the root class and end in -ā, use the nasal termination -antī- in forming fem. participles, to wit: *āyāntī*, vii. 26. 47; *āyāntīm*, vii. 96. 11. To these I can add *anuyāntī*, vi. 4. 25. Holtzmann, p. 13 (last line), cites *yāntī* as occurring in Mbh. at xii. 175. 28.

#### Perfect participle in -vāṁs.

462c]

Weak stem in strong cases.<sup>3</sup>

*Vidvāṁs* makes a nom. pl. -*viduṣas* (in form, acc. pl., as in other instances cited above) at vii. 1. 8 instead of the regular

<sup>1</sup> Compare C. R. Lanman in "Album-Kern," p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Wrong: the case is metrical.

<sup>3</sup> See also Hopkins, Epic, p. 262.

*-vidvāṇsas*. This is to avoid the fifth *vipulā*, which is not found in R. In Vedic, similar formations appear, as for example the acc. sing. *cakrūṣam*. See NIV., p. 511. In Mbh., as might be expected, we find analogous cases, as for example the nom. pl. *viduṣas*. See Holtzmann, p. 14; and BR., under *vidvāṇs*. In Pāli and Prākṛit we have an instance of a weak stem-form in the nom. sing., namely: Pāli *vidū*, Prākṛit *viū*, = Vedic *vidus* (Pischel, Ved. St. ii. 236, Pkt. Gr., § 411).

This phenomenon is to be explained as a transfer from the *-vāṇs* declension to the *-us* declension by a proportional. Thus *dirghāyusā*, *-uṣas* (gen. sing.), *-uṣi*, are to *dirghāyus*, *-uṣas* (nom. pl.), as *viduṣā*, *-uṣas* (gen. sing.), *-uṣi*, are to (Vedic) *vidus*, (Epic) *-uṣas* (nom. pl.).

#### Comparatives in *-yāṇs*.

465c]

*Weak stem-form for strong.*

In books i-iii I have noted *kanīyasam*, i. 61. 18, 19, 21; and *yavīyasam*, ii. 105. 42. *Kanīyasam* at i. 61. 19, 21 stands for *-yāṇsam* to give a diiambus at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-śloka; at i. 61. 18 it is used to avoid the combination --o----- as the prior pāda of a half-śloka where the caesura is not after the fifth syllable (see Hopkins, Epic, p. 221, last paragraph). *Yavīyasam* at ii. 105. 42 is for *-yāṇsam* in order to make the third syllable of a triṣṭubh line short so as to conform to the prevailing type of the triṣṭubh in the Rāmāyaṇa, namely: o-o---o-o-o-o-o (Hopkins, Epic, p. 276).

#### NUMERALS.

##### Cardinals.

475e]

*-Śat for -śati.*

*Caturviṇśat* is found at i. 4. 2. The comm. remarks: *caturviṇśad iti caturviṇśatir ity arthakaś chāndasaḥ*.

*-Śatam for -śat.*

*Triṇśatam* occurs at iv. 65. 4 (comm.: *triṇśad ity arthe triṇśatam ity āṛṣam*):

*śarabho vānaras tatra  
vānarāṇs tām uvāca ha  
triṇśatam tu gamiṣyāmi  
yojanānām plavaṅgamāḥ.*

480b] *Multiplication of numbers: illogical construction.*

At ii. 39. 36 an example of the 'peculiar and wholly illogical' construction occurs, namely, *trayaḥ śataśatārdhās*, which means 350, that is  $(3 \times 100) + 50$ , as the comm. points out, and not  $3 \times (100 + 50) = 450$ .

482h] *Declension of catvar: gen. pl. fem.*

*Catasṛṇām* occurs at i. 72. 12 By. (ed's of 1902 and 1888) and i. 72. 12 P., the corresponding passage. The comm. expressly notes the form and says the *-ṛ-* is Vedic—*dīryghatvam āṛṣam*. The form is for *-ṛṇām*, probably to avoid an anapaest immediately before the terminal diiambus of the posterior pāda of a half-śloka. Compare Hopkins, *Epic*, p. 245. The form with long *ṛ* also occurs at By. (ed. 1902) i. 73. 35, and at P. i. 73. 31, the corresponding passage; By. (ed. 1888) here reads *catasṛṇām*; the comm., furthermore, is silent. Moreover, the meter bars *catasṛṇām* in the present instance, for the fifth vipulā is unknown to R. (Hopkins, *Epic*, p. 222). In the face of such cumulative evidence we must here consider *catasṛṇām* as the correct reading. By's (ed. 1902) and P's *catasṛṇām* is accordingly a faulty assimilation<sup>1</sup> to *catasṛṇām* at By. (both ed's) i. 73. 35; P. i. 73. 31.

#### Ordinals.

487e] *-Ama- for -ā.*

*Dvādaśama-* is found at vii. 55. 4, vii. 70. 9, vii. 71. 1. *Dvādaśama-* occurs in BhP. at viii. 13. 27.

### PRONOMINAL DECLENSION.

#### Personal pronouns.

*First personal pronoun: me as inst. sing.*

The form *me* is not infrequent as inst. sing. It is clearly marked as such by the participle *tiṣṭhatā* at iv. 14. 14:

*tato vetsy balenādya  
vālinam nihataṁ raṇe  
anṛtaṁ noktapūrvam me  
ciraṁ kṛcchre 'pi tiṣṭhatā;*

<sup>1</sup> Compare Lanman, *Album-Kern*, p. 303.

here G. has in the corresponding passage (iv. 13. 38) *hi* for *me* and *mayā* for *ciram*, but has *me* (as the equivalent of *mayā*) in fact at iii. 13. 31 (=By. iii. 9. 33). Further cases are *asi me śrutas* (iii. 7. 10), *etad upāhṛtam me* (iii. 9. 33: so also G. at iii. 13. 31), *vidito me 'si* (iv. 11. 30), *vāidehyā yathā me haraṇam śrutam* (iv. 59. 6); *idānīm me smṛtam* (iv. 46. 21); *dvāu māsāu rakṣitavyāu me* (v. 22. 8). The comm. explains *me* by *mayā* in all these cases<sup>1</sup> except *me* at iii. 9. 33.

With *me* as inst. sing., Pkt. (and Pāli?) *me*, used the same way, is to be compared. See Pischel, § 418; Kuhn, p. 86, near the bottom. See under the heading, Second personal pronoun: *te* as inst. sing.

*First personal pronoun: me as abl. sing.*

*Me* is used as an ablative singular at vi. 19. 20 and at vii. 10. 17. The comm. explains *me* both times by *matṭaḥ*.

*na me jīvan vimokṣyate* (vi. 19. 20).

*varam anyam vṛṇīṣva me* (vii. 10. 17).

*First personal pronoun: mahyam as gen. sing.*

*Mahyam* at i. 13. 4 is used in the sense of a genitive and is so explained by the comm.—*mahyam iti saṁthyarthe*:

*bhavān snigdhaḥ suhṛn mahyam*

*guruś ca paramo mahān.*

Sl. (i. 12. 4) and G. (i. 12. 4) substitute *suhṛc cāiva* for *suhṛn mahyam* of the Bombay text.

*Śrutvāiva ca vaco mahyam*

*kṣipram eṣyati rāghavaḥ*

occurs at v. 36. 34 and at v. 37. 20. The comm. explains *mahyam* at v. 36. 34 by *matṭaḥ*; but at v. 37. 20 he remarks *mahyam: mama matto vā*. G. at v. 34. 4 (=By. v. 36. 34) reads *mama śrutvāiva tu vacaḥ*, etc.; for By. v. 37. 20 there is no correspondent in G. As *mahyam* is in the same pāda as *vacas*, it is much better to take *mahyam* as a genitive dependent on *vacas*, than to consider *mahyam* as an ablative

<sup>1</sup> In some of them, in spite of the comm., one may doubt the author's assumption that *me* and (in the sequel) *te* are real instrumentals, and not rather after all simple genitives (Whitney, § 296 b).

of separation, to be construed with *esyati* in another pāda. G's reading strongly supports this view. We may add *mahyam* (comm. *mama*), vii. 49. 9.

492a] *First personal pronoun: me as loc. sing.*

*Me* at ii. 85. 10 is construed by the comm. (*me: mayi*) as a locative singular. The text runs:

*tañ nirvartayitum yāmi  
kākatsthañ ramarāsinam  
buddhīr anyā na me kāryā  
guha satyāñ bravāmi te.*

The comm. gives another reading, namely, *te* for *me*, which reading both Sl. (ii. 85. 10) and G. (ii. 92. 19) have in the corresponding passages. G., moreover, substitutes *upāvartayitum* for *tañ nirvartayitum*. The reading *te* yields better sense: if correct, *te* is an instrumental singular; see below, Second personal pronoun: *te* as inst. sing. If *me* is accepted as the correct reading, it is hard to see why it can not be construed as a genitive singular: the comm's forced construction appears needless. Whitney, § 492a, says that *mé* as loc. or dative is peculiar to VS.

*Second personal pronoun: te as acc. sing.*

Hopkins, JAOS. xx.<sup>3</sup> p. 222, gives an example of this where *te* is shown to be acc. by the adjective *apāpām* agreeing with it: *apāpāñ vedmi Site te*, By. vii. 49. 10. The comm. explains *te* by *tvām*, which G. (in the corresponding passage) has. To this I can add only one more example,<sup>1</sup> to wit: *aham ājñāpayāmi te*, vii. 47. 9 (comm.: *te tvām ity arthaḥ*). Pischel, ZDMG. xxxv. 715, cites *te* as a Pāli acc. from Jātaka i. 225<sup>27,28</sup>, and as a Vedic acc. from RV. i. 30. 9. In some Prākṛit dialects, furthermore, *te* (*de*) is used as acc. sing. See Pischel, Pkt. Gr. §§ 420, 421. Notice that *me* is used as acc. sing. in Ardhamāgadhī Prākṛit, and in Vedic. See Pischel, § 418.

*Second personal pronoun: te as inst. sing.*

Instances of *te* as instrumental singular are not numerous. Examples are: *buddhīr anyā na te kāryā*, Sl. ii. 85. 10, G. ii. 92. 19; comm's variant at By. ii. 85. 10; *pūjitās cāpi te vāyam*,

<sup>1</sup> In the proof I add *sa te mokṣayitā śāpāt*, vii. 53. 21.

ii. 89. 7; *nahī te niṣṭhuraṁ vācyo bharato*, ii. 97. 15; *āganta-vyaṁ ca te*, iii. 8. 16. The comm. explains all these cases of *te* by *tvayā* except his variant *te* at By. ii. 85. 10, where he records it as a variant reading only. See above, First personal pronoun: *me* as loc. sing. Pischel, § 421, cites *te* or *de* for Pkt. as inst.; and Kuhn, p. 86, cites *te*, doubtfully, for Pāli. Compare also *me* used as inst. sing. Note, however, that in the instances quoted above, *te* might be a gen. sing.

*Second personal pronoun: tubhyam as inst. sing.*

The comm. at iii. 49. 39 records *tubhyam* as a variant of *tvayā* of the text—*tubhyam iti pāṭhe tvayety arthe āraṇ tat*. Pādas *a* and *b* of the text run:

*nāiṣa vārayitum śakyas  
tvayā krūro niśācaraḥ.*

G. has no corresponding passage. Neither Pāli nor Prākṛit offers any analogies for the use of *tubhyam* as inst. sing.

*Second personal pronoun: tubhyam as gen. sing.*

*Tubhyam* at i. 54. 15 is to be construed as a genitive: *aprameyam balan tubhyam* (comm. *tubhyam: tava*). The meter demands -- ō to avoid diiambus at the close of the prior pāda of a half-śloka; hence *tava* would be barred. Pkt. *tubham* (=Skt. *tubhyam*), as gen. sing., is to be compared.

*Second personal pronoun: yūyam as acc. pl.*

At v. 64. 17 *yūyam* is found as acc. pl.:

*nājñāpayitum iṣo 'haṁ  
yuvarājo 'smi yady api  
ayuktam kṛtakarmāṇo  
yūyam dharaṣayitum balāt.*

On this the comm. observes:

*yady apy ahaṁ yuvarājo 'smi yuṣmān ājñāpayitum neśaś ca: tatra hetuḥ—kṛtakarmāṇo yūyam: kṛtakarmāṇo yuṣmān ity artha āraṇ idam. tathāpy ataḥ param balāt dharaṣayitum na yuktaṁ.*

**Demonstrative pronouns.**

*Ayam: loc. sing. fem.*

At v. 16. 11 *asyā* is found as a loc. sing. fem. (in place of *asyām*), in opposition with a loc. sing., namely, *nimitte*:

*āśvaryaṁ vānarāṇāṁ ca  
durlabhaṁ vālīpālitaṁ  
asyā nimितte sugrīvāḥ  
prāptavāṁś lokaviśrutaḥ*

The comm. says that *asyā* [i. e. *asyās* with loss of -s] is a genitive in place of a locative—*saptamyarthe śaṣṭhī*. The comm. also quotes Tīrtha as follows: *asyāṁ nimittabhūtāyāṁ satyāṁ*.

#### Adjectives declined like pronouns.

535c]

*Paścimut-*.

P. reads *paścimasyām* at i. 61. 3, where By. (i. 61. 3), in the corresponding passage, has *paścimāyām*; at By. iv. 37. 3, however, the former form is found. It is to be noted that the meter allows either form.

#### CONJUGATION.

##### Voice.

529a]

*Interchange: 1. active for middle.*

Verbs which in Classical Sanskrit are never inflected in the active voice, are occasionally used in the Rāmāyaṇa in that voice. The phenomena may be divided into three categories: 1. where the active is found in Epic Sanskrit only; 2. where the active is peculiar to R.; 3. where the active is found only in Vedic and R. Examples of 1. are *avagāhanti*, iii. 16. 22, and *vākyaṇṭas*, iii. 23. 15. An instance under 2. is *modiṣyasi*, vi. 33. 34 (*modiṣye* E.). An illustration of 3. is *āsiṣyasi*, iv. 54. 16 (*āsiṣyati* TS.).

529a]

*Interchange: 2. middle for active.*

Verbs which in Classical Sanskrit are never inflected in the middle voice, are used occasionally in the Rāmāyaṇa in that voice. The phenomena may be divided into four divisions, namely: 1. where the middle is found in Epic Sanskrit only; 2. where the middle is peculiar to R.; 3. where the middle is found in R., BhP., and Vedic only; 4. where the middle occurs only in R. and Vedic. Examples of 1. are *bhedayasva*, i. 64. 7, and *tapsyāmahe*, i. 61. 2; *tyakṣye*, iv. 62. 15; *modiṣye*, v. 65. 24, etc. Illustrations of 2. are *svapṣye*, ii. 24. 35, *cālayate*,



i. 40. 15, and *kṣamiṣye*,<sup>1</sup> vii. 58. 14. Instances of 3. are *grasate* (V.B. BhP.<sup>2</sup> x. 34. 6), i. 56. 13 and *grasamānasya*, i. 56. 17. Types of 4. are *āpsyase* (*āpsyate*, etc., B.R.), P. i. 69. 9, *prāpsyase*, ii. 24. 30, ii. 74. 12, and *avāpsyase*, ii. 32. 31, ii. 32. 36.

#### Personal endings.

542a] 1. *Substitution of primary for secondary ending.*

Examples of this are infrequent and are confined to the use of *-mas* for *-ma* in the first person plural of the present active optative, and to the use of *-tha* for *-ta* in the second person plural of the present active imperative. Thus: *syāmas*, i. 45. 16; *prāpnuyāmas*, vi. 66. 24; *avāpnuyāmas*, vi. 66. 25; *-gacchatha*, i. 39. 13, 14. Possibly we have to assume that *gacchema* (before *r-*) stands for *gacchemas* at i. 9. 16: see above, 125d.

*Ajarāś cāmarāś cāiva*  
*kathanī syāmeti rāghava*

is read by Sl. and P. (i. 45. 17) and G. (i. 46. 17) instead of

*amarā vijarāś cāiva*  
*kathanī syāmo nirāmayāḥ*, By. i. 45. 16.

Of course double sandhi of *-as i-* might be assumed, but it is far better to regard *syāmeti* as *syāma+iti* (Whitney, Gr. § 127).

BhP. at vi. 4. 7 has an imperative second person plural in *-tha*:

*mā drumebhyo mahābhāgā*  
*dīnebhyo drogdhum arhatha.*

For the construction of *mā* followed by the imperative, see Whitney, Gr. § 579c.

Moreover, both Pāli and Prākṛit employ a primary ending in the second person plural of the imperative. Thus: Pāli *sunātha* 'hear ye,' Pkt. *ṇamaha* (= *\*-tha*) 'bow ye.' See Pischel, § 471, Kuhn, pp. 100, 101.

In Mbh. the optative *syāvas* is found instead of *syāva*, precisely as *syāmas* for *syāma*. See Holtzmann, p. 22.

Again it should be noted that both Pāli and Prākṛit furnish parallels: they have primary endings in the first<sup>3</sup> (this rarely) and second persons sing., and in the second person pl. of the

<sup>1</sup> Not registered by Whitney.

<sup>2</sup> Not given by Whitney as occurring either in R. or BhP.

<sup>3</sup> I cannot cite examples for this person in Pāli.

optative. Thus: Pkt. *ñējāmi*, *karējāmi*, *nivedijāsi* (=Skt. *nivedayas*), *citt'hējāha* (=\*-*tha*); Pāli *jāneyyāsi*, *passeyyāsi* (both Majjh. ii. 3. 5, pp. 510, 511), *bhajeyyāsi* (Majjh. ii. 3. 5, p. 512), *kubbetha* (SN. iv. 14. 3).

Furthermore, Pkt. offers an exact parallel to *syāmas*, etc., in that it employs a primary ending *-mo* (=Skt. *-mas*) in the first person pl. of the optative. Thus: *purcchējāmo*, *kahējāmo*. See Pischel, §§ 459-465.

542a] 2. *Substitution of secondary for primary ending.*

Instances of this are frequent, but are confined to the substitution of *-ma* for *-mas* (apart from *raṁsyāva*, discussed below). Examples of presents in *-ma* for *-mas* are *sma*, i. 14. 17, 47; P. i. 29. 24; i. 28. 13; i. 31. 4 (?); i. 33. 3, 4; i. 65. 19; ii. 6. 22; ii. 17. 9; ii. 48. 28; ii. 54. 6; ii. 54. 37 (comm's variant); ii. 55. 11; ii. 57. 12; ii. 61. 26; ii. 63. 33; ii. 92. 6; ii. 93. 7; ii. 99. 9; ii. 111. 21; iii. 8. 5; iii. 10. 11; iii. 11. 94;<sup>1</sup> *paśyāma*, ii. 17. 10; ii. 51. 24; iv. 56. 13. Examples of future in *-ma* for *-mas* are: *karisyāma*, i. 40. 9; *prāpsyāma*, i. 45. 17; *vetsyāma*, ii. 17. 9; *drakṣyāma*, ii. 40. 22; ii. 47. 11; *pravakṣyāma*, ii. 54. 16; *śakṣyāma*, ii. 56. 7; *gamisyāma*, ii. 91. 59; *vatsyāma*, iii. 15. 19; iv. 27. 7. Hopkins (Epic, pp. 245-249, 251) thoroughly discusses the metrical considerations which make for *-ma* in place of *-mas*.

*Raṁsyāva*, the only case of the substitution of *-va* for *-vas* that I have noted in R., is found at iv. 27. 25. As far as the sense is concerned it might be an imperative, and I am inclined to regard it as such for the reason that the use of *-va* for *-vas* is not found elsewhere in R.<sup>2</sup>

In Mbh. the same phenomenon is to be observed: thus, *sma*, *gacchāma*, etc. See Holtzmann, p. 18. BhP. at ix. 10. 26 has *sma* (for *smas*: *hā hatāḥ sma vayan nātha*), and *drakṣyāma* at x. 46. 19. Prākṛit allows the same substitution, with this restriction, namely, that apart from *mha* (=Skt. *smas*) and *vitārāma* and *dacchāma* (=Skt. *drakṣyāmas*, but cf. *drakṣyāma*, R. ii. 40. 22), the use of *-ma* for *-mo* (=Skt. *-mas*) is found only in verse. And *-ma* for *-mo* in the future is rare. See Pischel,

<sup>1</sup> *sma* occurs so often in every book of R. that it did not seem worth while adding more instances of it.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly we should emend *sma* at i. 31. 4 to *sva*.

§§ 455, 520. In Pāli *-ma* is used as a primary ending constantly without restriction; thus *amha* (=Pkt. *mha*, Epic Skt. *sma*); *gacchāma*, SN. iii. 9, p. 121; *bhaviessāma*, *āharissāma*, *āpajjissāma*, *paṭipajjissāma*, *rakkhissāma* (= \**rakṣiṣyāma*, cf. *rakṣiṣye*, BhP. viii. 22. 35)—all at Majjh. i. 4. 9, p. 273.

546]

3. *First person dual.*

Although no form in *-vas* is quotable in the Veda (Whitney), and although it is rare in Mbh. (Holtzmann), yet in R. the form is by no means infrequent. Examples are: *jīvāvas*, ii. 53. 31; *icchāvas*, ii. 64. 26, iii. 3. 3; *tiṣṭhāvas*, ii. 96. 20; *vicinivas*, iii. 61. 18; *karisyāvas*, iv. 3. 38; *paśyāvas*, iv. 61. 6; *gamiṣyāvas*, iii. 75. 6; *gacchāvas*, iii. 75. 10.

On the other hand, forms in *-va* are very uncommon in R. Examples are: *karavāva*, i. 31. 4, vii. 93. 17; *jīveva*, Sl. ii. 53. 32 (corresponding to the *jīvāvas* of By. ii. 53. 31); *gacchāva*, iii. 42. 1; *apaśyāva*, iv. 61. 5.

Instances of the termination *-vahe* are about on a numerical par with those in *-va*. Examples are: *icchāvahe*, i. 38. 10; *yatāvahe*, iii. 61. 17; *nikhanāvahe*, iii. 4. 10; *gacchāvahe*, iii. 64. 22; *raṁsyāvahe*, iii. 69. 14; *nivasāvahe*, iv. 27. 25.

4. *Second person sing. perfect active.*

At v. 67. 13 a wholly anomalous form, *cikṣepa*, occurs as a second person singular perfect active:

*sa tvam pradīptaṁ cikṣepa  
darbhāṁ taṁ vāyasam prati  
tatas tu vāyasam dīptaḥ  
sa darbho 'nujagāma ha.*

The comm. notes the form and says that it is Vedic (!) usage: *cikṣepa cikṣepitha. āṛṣaḥ prayogaḥ*. Possibly (if *cikṣepa* stands for \**cikṣepas*) we should compare Pāli *babhāve*, *papace*, = \**-vas*, \**-cas* respectively. Cf. Kuhn, p. 114. This comparison was suggested to me by Professor Hopkins.

**Improper subjunctive.**

563, 576]

*Future sense.*

The context shows that we have an instance of this at i. 9. 6:

*tasyāivam vartamānasya  
kūlaḥ samabhiṣvartata.*

The comm. correctly explains the form: *śamabhiṣartateti bha-  
viṣyati lañ adabhāvaś cārṣaḥ*. Sl. and P. at i. 8. 10 (the cor-  
responding passage) read:

*tasyāivam vartamānasya  
kālaḥ śamabhiṣartsyati.*

G. at i. 8. 10 (=By. i. 9. 6) has:

*tapuratasya tasyāivam  
kālaḥ śamabhiṣartsyati.*

This construction is seen in the RV. also: thus, *īndrasya nū  
vīryāṇi prā vocam*, i. 32. 1.

#### Imperative mode.

570b]

*Imperative in -tāt.*

The comm. at iii. 62. 14<sup>1</sup> gives, in a half-śloka "variant of  
Kataka," an example of an imperative in -tāt:

*'tātu eva kṛtārthaḥ sa  
tatvāiva vasatād iti'*

*ity ardhma adhikam katapāthe. tato daśaratha eva kṛtār-  
thaḥ. vasatād iti loṇ vyatyayena.* It may be remarked that in  
Mbh. only one example of this has been pointed out by Holtz-  
mann, namely, *kurātāt*. In Vedic the imperative in -tāt is not  
rare. See Whitney, Gr. §§ 618, 654, 704, 723, 740, 752c. They  
become quite common in late works: see L. D. Barnett, *Journal*  
of the Royal Asiatic Soc. 1902, p. 430, and 1903, p. 825, and  
Böhtlingk, *Ber. d. sächs. G. d. W.*, 1902, p. 19.

#### Prohibitions.

579a; Speyer, § 193] *Mā with augmentless imperfect.*

An example is *mā cānam abhibhāṣathāḥ*, ii. 9. 23. Whitney  
cites one example of this construction from Mbh. See Whitney  
for Vedic examples. Professor Hopkins informs me that the  
construction is not uncommon in late Sanskrit.

579b]

*Mā with the optative.*<sup>1</sup>

Whitney notes that this combination occurs once and only  
once in RV., and that no other instance of it is found in the

<sup>1</sup> This, apparently, is the citation meant by Böhtlingk's iii. 62. 4.

older language. It is infrequent in R. Examples are: *mā vipram manyur āviśet*, i. 10. 31; *mādharmo mām iha sprśet*, ii. 12. 36; *mā tvā ghoreṇa cakṣuṣā dahet*, iii. 50. 16; *mā ca buddhīm adharṃe tvam kuryāḥ*, vii. 40. 11; *mā gacchet*, iv. 14. 13; and, with inversion, *gaccher mā*, iv. 22. 22; and, with the particle *sma*: *manyur mā sma bhaved iti*, P. i. 9. 65 = By. i. 10. 31; *mā smāinam pratyulīkṣethāḥ*, ii. 9. 23; *mā sma janayet putram iḍṣam*, ii. 53. 21. The passage at ii. 38. 6 is ambiguous. As example of *mā* with the precative, BR. give *māsyā dharme mano bhāyāt*, ii. 75. 42, and I can add no other.

579e; Speyer, § 193] *Mā with augmented tense.*

I have noted but three instances of this construction in R., namely:

*mā niṣādu pratiṣṭhām tvam*  
*agamah śāsvatīḥ samāḥ*, i. 2. 15;  
*mā vālipatham anvayāḥ*, iv. 34. 18; iv. 30. 81.

The construction occurs but once in ŚB., TA., and KS.; in Mbh. it becomes more frequent, and in Pāli is a favorite, as has been illustrated by Speyer, § 193. Thus: *mā evam āvuso Ariṭṭha avaca*, Majjh. i. 3. 2, p. 130; *mā . . . ahuvattha*, ibidem ii. 9, p. 118; *mā te ahosi dīgharattaṃ ahitāya dukkhāyāti*, ibid. i. 5. 10, p. 332; *mā ayyā evam avacuttha*, Sam. vol. iv. xlii. 10. 4; *mā agumittha*, MV. i. 24. 2; *evaṃ me rūpaṃ mā ahosi*, ibidem i. 6. 38; *mā Yasassa kulaputtassa koci antarāyaṃ akāsi agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajjāyā'ti*, ibidem i. 7. 3.

*Mā with the future imperative.*

Hopkins, JAOS. xx.<sup>2</sup> 223, cites a couple of examples of this construction, namely: *mā vināśaṃ gamiṣyadhvam*, G. vii. 38. 113, and *mā vināśaṃ gamiṣyāma*, By. vii. 35. 63 (the corresponding passage). The comm. merely notes that there is hiatus between *gamiṣyāma* and the initial vowel of *aprasādyā* (the first word in pāda f). Compare below, 938.

587e] *Augment: omission.*

Instances of augmentless forms used as simple indicatives are frequent, but (with the exception of the aorists *praty-*

*anujñāsīt*, ii. 87. 16, *praśaśaṁsanta*, iv. 55. 18) are confined to the imperfect tense; especially numerous are they when the verb has a prefix. Examples are: *śaṁsat*, i. 1. 59; *abhipūrayan* (comm's variant), i. 7. 13; *bhavan*, i. 14. 24 (?);<sup>1</sup> *ardayan*, i. 17. 34; *upahārayat*, i. 18. 44; *śobhayetām*, i. 22. 10; *abhirañjayan*, i. 23. 20; *abhipūjayan*, i. 26. 27; *anuvrajat*, i. 43. 15; *nivedayat* (comm's variant), i. 50. 22; *priyetām*, i. 52. 11; *pūḍayan*, i. 66. 22; *prasaḍayam*, i. 66. 23; *utsaḍayam*, i. 75. 24; *smaratām*, ii. 1. 3; *cyāvayat*, ii. 11. 18; *vicaṣṭa*, ii. 34. 60; *avabudhyata*, ii. 36. 17; *pāyayan*, ii. 41. 9; *prasārayan*, ii. 48. 4; *sampaśyan*, ii. 54. 4; *abhinādayan*, ii. 56. 16; *udīrayan*, ii. 67. 4, ii. 91. 58, ii. 91. 60; *uddharam*, ii. 63. 52; *chindan*, ii. 80. 7; *vinīspatat*, iii. 11. 59; *abhinīspatat*, iii. 12. 21; *janayat*, iii. 14. 18, iii. 14. 29; *dahata*, iii. 72. 3; *parihīyata*, iv. 16. 27; *yudhyetām*, iv. 16. 30; *grhṇītām*, iv. 60. 20; *tāḍayat*, vi. 46. 17; *kurūtām*, vi. 79. 26; etc. Twenty-nine of the thirty-nine examples quoted above are in even pādas; the remaining ten in odd pādas. We shall first consider the former cases.—Of these the following are not metri causa: *śaṁsat*,<sup>2</sup> *abhipūjayan*, *abhirañjayan*,<sup>3</sup> *udīrayan* (three times), *praśaśaṁsanta*, *grhṇītām*. Of the remaining twenty-one, nine are due to the fixed number of syllables: *bhavan*, i. 14. 24 (if it be an augmentless imperfect), *śobhayetām*, *priyetām*, *pūḍayan*, *uddharam*, *chindan*, *dahata*, *tāḍayat*, *kurūtām*. The balance—twelve in number—are due to considerations of vowel-quantities. Of these, one (*abhipūrayan*) is to avoid an amphimacer immediately before *o-o*, which ends the pāda; one (*vicaṣṭa*) is in order to make the sixth syllable of a triṣṭubh line short; all the rest are to produce *o-o* at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-śloka.—Of the ten cases which are found in odd pādas, two (*nivedayat*, *cyāvayat*) are not metri causa; seven (*ardayan*, *utsaḍayam*, *smaratām*, *sampaśyan*, *janayat* [twice], *yudhyetām*) are due to the fixed number of syllables; one (*pratymanujñāsīt*) is to avoid eight long syllables in a pāda.

<sup>1</sup> So the comm. ; but double sandhi of -ās a- would be possible.

<sup>2</sup> *śaṁsad rāmo* is not metri causa, because *rāmo'saṁsan* (which P. at i. 1. 56 reads) could have easily been substituted for it.

<sup>3</sup> This case is rather metri causa, to avoid *-o-* before *o-o*.

## PRESENT SYSTEM.

## Root-class.

618end] *Present imperative: strong form in the second person plural.*

To *stota*, etc., should be added *bravīta*, which occurs at vi. 14. 10. With *bravīta*, Vedic *bravītana* is to be compared. The comm. explains *bravīta* correctly by *brūta*. For the strong form in the second person plural of the present imperative, see Whitney, Gr. §§ 618, 654, 690, 704, 723. Compare also Pāli *gaṇhātha*=\**grhṇāt(h)a*; Pāli *suṇātha*, Pkt. *ṣuṇādha*=\**ṣṛṇāt(h)a* (cf. Vedic *ṣṛṇota*).

625a] *Transfers to the a-class.*

The roots *ās* and *śās* are often inflected according to the *a*-conjugation. Thus: *upāsante*, i. 14. 18; *paryupāsate*, i. 33. 12; *samupāsata*, i. 43. 1; *praśāsati*, i. 21. 13. All the examples quoted are metri causa; and it should be observed that they all are compounded with a verbal prefix. Compare also below, 632 and 637.

632] *Present system of brū.*

*Brāmi* as the first person sing. act. of the root *brū* is quite common. Instances of it are found at ii. 19. 4; iii. 13. 17; iv. 7. 14; vi. 9. 20. In the corresponding passages G. usually dodges the difficulty (as at ii. 16. 6=By. ii. 19. 4; iv. 6. 14=By. iv. 7. 14) or else substitutes *brāmo* for *brāmi* (as at iii. 19. 18=By. iii. 13. 17), but reads at v. 80. 22 (=By. vi. 9. 20) *bravīmy ahaṁ hitam pathyam* for *hitam tathyam* to *aham brāmi*: that is, G. never has *brāmi* corresponding to *brāmi* of the Bombay text in the cited passages. *Brāmi* is a Pālicism<sup>1</sup> of the clearest kind, for in Pāli *brāmi* is constantly used: in my Pāli reading I have never observed *bravīmi*.

*Abruvam*, the first person singular of the imperfect active, which is found in U. and Mbh. also, occurs at ii. 64. 11; ii. 86. 2. In G. the form also occurs, namely, at ii. 66. 9. It should be observed in connection with this that in Pāli the third person sing. imperfect *abruvi* occurs beside *abravi*=Skt. *abravīt*. *Bruvadhvam*, which occurs also in Mbh. (see BR. v. 157), is

<sup>1</sup> Compare Hopkins, Epic, p. 262.



found at iv. 64. 22, in place of the ordinary *brādhvam*. In G. the śloka is lacking. Both *abruvam* and *bruvadhvam* are transfers to the *a*- conjugation, brought about doubtless by a proportion of this kind, to wit: *tudanti* is to *atudam* or *tudadhvam*, as *bruvanti* is to *abruvam* or *bruvadhvam*. Pāli *abravi* = \**abravīt* is a compromise between *abravi* = *abravīt* and \**abrava* = \**abravat*, having the vocalism of the latter but the termination of the former, unless it be an *iṣ* aorist from a secondary root *bruv* (secondary because the *iṣ* aorist of *brū* should make \**abrāvī* = Skt. \**abrāvīt*, cf. Skt. *apāvīt* from the root *pā*). This latter hypothesis is very improbable, as no such aorist is made from either *bruv* or *brū* in Skt.

The irregular second person sing. of the act. imperative *bravīhi*, which is found also in Mbh. and MārKP., occurs at ii. 23. 40, ii. 95.<sup>1</sup> 52, iii. 31. 43. G. at ii. 20. 45 has

*tad brāhi ko 'dyāiva viyujyatām mayā*

corresponding to

*bravīhi ko 'dyāiva mayā viyujyatām,*

By. ii. 23. 40. At ii. 105. 51, G. reads

*kim aṅgani śātayatu te  
śareṣiketi kathiyatām ;*

for which By. ii. 95.<sup>1</sup> 52 has

*śarāṣikā bravīhi me*

in pāda *d*. According to Jacobi, Rāmāyaṇa, p. 229, there is no passage in G. that corresponds to By. iii. 31. 43: observe, therefore, that G. nowhere has *bravīhi* corresponding to *bravīhi* of By. in the passages above cited; nor has Böhlingk cited *bravīhi* as occurring elsewhere in the first four books of G. The comm., touching on *bravīhi*, says at ii. 23. 40 *bravīhity āraṣam ī*, and at iii. 31. 43 *bravīhi: īd āraṣa*.

In Vedic, strong stems are occasionally used in the second person sing. of the act. imperative. Examples are: *yuyodhī śiśūdhī* (beside *śiśūhi*), *grhṇāhi*, *strṇāhi*, *prṇāhi*, *śrṇāhi*, etc. See Whitney, Gr. §§ 654, 723.

*Bravīṣva*, second person sing. middle of the imperative with strong for weak stem, is found at By. vi. 3. 3. Doubtless the form was made after the analogy of *bravīhi*.

*Bravīta*, second person pl. act. of the imperative, has been noticed above, 618.

637b] *Present system of han.*

Examples of forms from the transfer stem *hana* are *-hanat* (augmentless), iii. 51. 18; *hanadhvam*, iii. 26. 25, *hanantas*, v. 58. 153. The starting-point of the transfer was undoubtedly *ahanam*, a third person singular *ahanat* being made after the analogy of *abhavam*, *abhavat*. From *ahanat* spread forms from the thematic stem *hana*. In Mbh. there are also similar transfer stems. See Holtzmann, p. 22.

*Ghnata* (second person plural of the present imperative active) is found at vi. 89. 19. The comm. notes the form as archaic; according to Whitney (Root-Book, under *han*, 'smite') it is found in both Epic and Classical Sanskrit. Obviously it is an analogical formation: *ghnantu* is to *ghnata* as *bhavantu* is to *bhavata*.

#### Reduplicating class.

669, 672] *Present system of dā.*

Instances of *dadmi* are to be found at i. 27. 15, ii. 53. 21. Compare Pāli *dammi*=*dadmi*.<sup>1</sup> The form is also found in Mbh. and the Purāṇas. *Dadmi* was made after some such proportion as this, to wit: *hanmas* is to *hanmi* as *dadmas* is to *dadmi*. That is, *dadmi* is a transfer to the root-class.

Examples of inflection from the secondary root *dād* with *a*-conjugation are *adadam*, i. 75. 25; *adadat*, G. iii. 4. 19, G. v. 58. 14. In Mbh. and the Purāṇas the same phenomenon is found. This phenomenon is an analogical formation:—*dadāmi* is to *dadasi*, *dadati*, *dadāmas*, etc., as *bhavāmi* is to *bhavasi*, *-ti*, *-āmas*. In Vedic, Pāli, and Prākṛit there are also analogous formations. See Whitney, § 672, Pischel, § 500.

#### Transfer to the *a*-class.

At iii. 46. 30 is found *bibhyase*, which the comm. explains as *bibhesi*. As far as the form is concerned it might be a subjunctive middle, since it occurs in an interrogative sentence, namely, *katham tebhyo na bibhyase*, but this supposition is per se highly

<sup>1</sup> Compare Hopkins, Epic, p. 262.

improbable;—especially as in the following śloka we have an interrogative sentence, namely, *katham ekā mahāraṇye na bibheṣi varānane*, in which the indicative *bibheṣi* is found: we must therefore regard *bibhyase* as a transfer to the *a*-class. See Hopkins, *Epic*, p. 247.

#### Nasal class.

688a] *Formation of the optative.*

*Prayujjyāt*, at i. 4. 3, is found:

*cintayām āsa ko na etat  
prayujjyād iti prabhuḥ.*

The comm. says the form is Vedic: *prayujjyād iti cchānda-sam*. The authority for this may be *vrñjyam*, which is found once in AB., as far as the *-i-* is concerned. Possibly *-yuñjyāt* is regarded by the comm. as a transfer to the *a*-class with an optative formation like *śaṁsīyāt*, *naṣṭa*, etc. (Whitney, 738 b), and so is called Vedic. Professor Lanman suggests that *yuñjyāt* may be a phonetic spelling of *yuñjyāt* (pronounced as a trisyllable), such as we find in *śavar* of TS., or the *mahyam*, for *mahyam*, of the Pāippalāda AV., birch-bark folio 264b<sup>a</sup>.

#### Nu- and u- classes.

At vi. 90. 4 the middle present participle *stuvāna*-, which, according to Whitney, is peculiar to the Upanishads, is found:

*tatas tām rākṣasām sarvām  
harṣayan rāvaṇātmajaḥ  
stuvāno harṣamāṇas ca  
idaṁ vacanam abravīt.*

The comm. notes the form, and correctly interprets: *stuvāna ity ārsam. stuvann ity arthaḥ*.

715a] *Inflection of kṛ: first person sing. present active.*

At ii. 12. 36, v. 22. 20, and vii. 78. 20 *kurmi* is found. The comm. explains these by *karomi*. *Kurmi* is a downright borrowing from the vernaculars: cf. Gāthā *kurumi*, Pāli *kummi* (= *kurmi*). The relation of *hanmas* to *hanmi* and of *dadmas* to *dadmi* is like that of *kurmas* to *kurmi*, which, accordingly, is a transfer from the *u*-class to the root-class.

*Transfer to the a- conjugation.*

The form *vicinvadhvam* is found at i. 39. 13. Whitney lists the transfer of *cinu-* to *cinva-* as occurring only in Classical Sanskrit.

731] **Nā- class:** transfers to the a- conjugation.

My collections indicate that this is confined to transfers from *grhñā-* to *grhñā-*. Examples are: *pratigrhṇa* (second person sing. present active imperative), G. iii. 9. 27; *pratyagrhṇata* (third person sing. imperfect middle), By. iv. 27. 4; *agrhṇanta* (third person pl. imperfect middle), By. v. 61. 1. *Pratyagrhṇata* is due to the preference of -o-o to -o-- before a pathyā foot. The same transfer is found in the Upanishads and Mbh., and occasionally in Pāli.

**A- class.***Present system of bhū.*

At ii. 103. 30 and ii. 104. 15 is the following proverb:

*yadannāḥ puruṣo bhavati*  
*tadannās tasya devatāḥ.*

G. at ii. 111. 36 (=By. ii. 103. 30) avoids this by

*yadannāḥ puruṣo nūnam*  
*tadannāḥ pītṛdevatāḥ.*

Sl. reads as By. It is an open question whether we are to regard the By. reading as a hypermetric verse, or pronounce *bhavati* as dissyllabic (cf. Pāli *hoti*, Pkt. *bhodi* *hodi*). See Jacobi, *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 24, footnote, Gurupūj., p. 52; Hopkins, *Epic*, pp. 252-254, 259, 260, 261; Lanman, as reported by Hopkins, *Epic*, p. 260.

741a: cf. 1043 f.] *Present middle participle: -āna for -māna.*

The only instance of this in books i-ii that I have noted is *pariṣvajāna-*, ii. 83. 10, which the comm. correctly explains.<sup>1</sup>

Whether Vedic *cyāvāna*, *yātāna*, etc., belong under this rubric is difficult to say, as it is doubtful whether they are aorists or presents.

In Pāli the use of *-āna* for *-māna* is infrequent: in my collections I have noted only *vadāno*, SN. 893, 888, 910; *vadā-*

<sup>1</sup> Read *pariṣvajānāḥ* for *-ānā* in the comm.

*nam*, SN. 789; *vadānā*, SN. 892, 824, 825, 876, 879, 885, 898, 905.

### PASSIVE VOICE.

774]

*Active terminations.*

Passives with active terminations are fairly common. A good example is *hanyema*, iv. 53. 27. Other instances are *pāryatus*, ii. 63. 32; *pralobhyanā*, iv. 62. 7; *hīyēt*, v. 37. 57; *sambhriyantu*, i. 12. 15. In Mbh. the same phenomenon is to be observed. For examples see Holtzmann, p. 25. In Pāli and Prākṛit, passives are ordinarily formed with active terminations. Thus Pkt. *thurrasi* corresponds to Skt. *stūyate*, Pāli *vuccati* to Skt. *neyate*. See Pischel, § 535 ff.

### PERFECT SYSTEM.

790c]

1. *Absence of reduplication.*

This is only sporadic. Examples are: *-śaṁsivān*, ii. 19. 35; *-viśus*, v. 22. 45; *śaṁsus*, v. 53. 23; and *prapñjire*, vii. 69. 39. In Vedic, also, absence of reduplication is infrequent.

2. *Guna instead of vṛddhi in the 3rd sing.*

At vi. 80. 5 *juhāva* is found metri causa instead of *juhāra*. The comm. notes the form and says the absence of *vṛddhi* is Vedic; observe, however, that in the Veda the *-ā-* would be short only in the first person singular (793 d). At vi. 82. 24 also it occurs in exactly the same phraseology; *juhāva* being metrically barred.

793h] 3. *Strengthening in other than the singular persons.*

Instances of this are quite common. Examples are: *jagrahus*, i. 45. 37 b; *pranamārjus*, ii. 104. 19; *dadarśatus*, iii. 69. 11, 33, v. 35. 25; *-sasarjatus*, iii. 72. 1; *pasparśatus*, vi. 80. 24; *-cakartatus*, vi. 80. 31; *vavarṣus*, vi. 57. 37, vii. 23.<sup>2</sup> 33; *mumocatus*, vii. 23.<sup>2</sup> 49. Four (*jagrahus*, *vavarṣus* [twice], *pasparśatus* [?]) of the instances just quoted are not metri causa. Four (*dadarśatus*, iii. 69. 33; *-sasarjatus*; *cakartatus*; *mumocatus*) are to produce *o--o* at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-śloka. Two (*pranamārjus*; *dadarśatus*, iii. 69. 11) are to avoid an anapaest immediately before *o--o* at the close of the prior pāda of a half-śloka. The first vipulā is responsible for *dadarśatus*, v. 35. 25.

*Tuyopima* and *viveśus* (RV.) are to be compared with these; in connection with *pasparśatus*, it should be observed that in KeU. *pasparśus* is found. In Mbh. are similar cases of strengthening in other forms than those of the singular; see Holtzmann, p. 27.

794h] 4. *Weak form of the perfect-stem of pat.*

Böhtlingk cites the irregular *āpapatus* (instead of the regular *āpetus*) as occurring in By. at iii. 3. 20. This is not found in the 1902 Bombay text, which correctly has *āpetatus* (3d person dual):

tāu khaḍgāu kṣipram udyamya  
kṣṇasarpāv icodyatāu  
tūrṇam āpetatus tasya  
tadā praharatām balāt.

807] 5. *Active perfect participle.*

These are quite numerous. In books i-ii I have noted the following: *śuśruvān*, i. 19. 22; *vineduṣī*, i. 26. 25; *upeyivān*, i. 58. 2; *jajñivān*, ii. 10. 10; *āpedivān*, ii. 12. 6; *ajajñivān*, ii. 14. 45; *abhidadhyuṣī*, ii. 16. 21; *-śaṁsivān*, ii. 19. 35; *eyivān*, ii. 62. 20; *-jahrivān*, ii. 94. 27; *eyuṣas*, ii. 99. 6.

807] 6. *Middle perfect participle.*

The only instance I have noted is *samparipuplūvānam*, vi. 73. 3, which is rightly explained by the comm. In Mbh. possibly there is one case, namely, *didviṣāna*; see Holtzmann, p. 27.

7. *Pluperfect.*

I have noted but one pretty certain example of this, namely, *ababhramat*, i. 43. 9. It is not in Whitney's Root-Book, and for it P. (i. 44. 12) has the reduplicated aorist *abibhramat*. The comm. observes: *ababhramat*: *ārśatvāt sanvaditvaṁ na*. The fact that *ababhramat* is not a reduplicated aorist is shown by the reduplicating vowel, which is *a* and not *i*. See Whitney, Gr. §§ 643, 660, 782, 858 a, 860. To be sure, were *ababhramat* a reduplicated aorist, it could apparently be matched by *ababhakṣat*, found in the SB. only, and thus listed by Whitney; but the latter might be a pluperfect on account of the undoubted perfect *babhakṣa*, which, although not registered by Whitney, occurs in R. at vi. 67. 93. Whether *ababhakṣat* is a redupli-

cated aorist or a pluperfect, it is impossible to say, except so far as the sense of the ŚB. passage can guide us, since the root *bhaks* is a heavy syllable (Whitney, Gr. § 860 c); whereas, since the root *bhram* is a light syllable, the reduplication-vowel of a reduplicated aorist from this root should be *-i-* (as in *abibhramat*). Similarly, because *śaṁs* is a heavy syllable, the reduplicated aorist of the root *śaṁs*, *aśaśaṁsat*,<sup>1</sup> does not militate against *abubhramat* being taken as a pluperfect (Whitney, Gr. §§ 860, 79). The aorist *acakamata* from the root *kam* 'love' would indeed furnish an exact parallel to *abubhramat* from the root *bhram* in having *a* as reduplication-vowel: but on the one hand the form is non-quotable; while on the other the regular *acīkamata* occurs in the Brāhmaṇas. Moreover *acakamata* in form is a pluperfect and not a reduplicated aorist, as is shown by its reduplication-vowel *-a-* (Whitney, Gr. §§ 782, 858, 859).

#### AORIST SYSTEM.

904d]

*Iṣ-* aorist.

*Agṛhītām* is found at i. 4. 4: but P. and Sl. (i. 4. 2) have *agṛhītām*; and G., in a closely corresponding passage (i. 3. 40), has *jagṛhatus*. The comm. says that the form *agṛhītām* is Vedic—*chāndasam*, though it occurs in Epic Sanskrit only. The imperatives *gṛhītā* and *gṛhīṣva* (in place of *gṛhītā* and *gṛhīṣva*), however, exhibit the same irregularity in formation.

925a]

*Precativē.*

In books i and ii I have noted *bhūyāt*, namely at i. 21. 8 and ii. 75. 42. Both times it stands for the optative, *bhavet*, in order to avoid diiambus at the close of the prior pāda of a half-śloka. Moreover, in i. 1. 100, *īyāt* occurs four times.

#### FUTURE SYSTEMS.

*Sibilant future.*

*Use of the auxiliary vowel -i-*.

Some verbs which never assume the auxiliary *-i-* in Classical Sanskrit, assume it rarely in R. Cases in point are:

<sup>1</sup> Authorized by the native grammarians, but non-quotable according to Whitney, although *pra-śaśaṁsanta*, an augmentless form of the reduplicated aorist of this root, apparently occurs at By. iv. 55. 18.



1. Where such usage is authorized by the native grammarians, but non-quotable elsewhere. The sole instance of this that I have noted is *vardhiṣyate* (*vartsyati*, C.), v. 39. 11.

2. Where the use of *-i-* is peculiar to Epic Sanskrit. Examples of this are: *vasiṣyasi*, i. 48. 29, *vasiṣyāmi*, ii. 30. 39 (*vatsya*- B. +); *-sraviṣyanti*, ii. 48. 14; *śapiṣye*, iv. 11. 5. As regards the last two cases, it is to be noted that *sroṣya*- and *śapṣya*- are authorized by the native grammarians, but that neither is quotable.

3. Where the use of *-i-* is wanting in Classical Skt., although Vedic parallels are found. Instances of this are: *jayiṣyasi*, i. 27. 3, *-jayiṣyase*, vi. 105. 3 (cf. *jayiṣya*-, JB.E., beside the usual *jesya*-, V. +); *svapiṣye*, ii. 24. 35 (cf. *svapiṣya*-, AV.R., beside the usual *svapṣya*-, B. +).

*Non-use of the auxiliary vowel -i-*.

In R. the auxiliary vowel *-i-* is sometimes omitted in verbs where such omission does not obtain in Classical Sanskrit. The instances may be divided into two classes, namely: 1. where such omission of *-i-* is common to Mbh. and R.; 2. where such omission of *-i-* is peculiar to R. As examples of class 1 may be cited: *tyakṣyāmi*, iii. 74. 28; *tyakṣyanti*, iv. 54. 16; *tyakṣye*, iii. 45. 36; iv. 62. 15 (*tyajīṣya*- E. +). As examples of class 2 I can cite from root *rakṣ*, the future *rakṣye* (marked with an interrogation point by Whitney), which occurs at i. 61. 19; this stands for *rakṣiṣye* (which, though not given by Whitney in his Root-Book, occurs in BhP. at viii. 22. 35), as if implying *\*rakṣiṣye*. The comm. glosses *rakṣye* by *rakṣiṣyāmi*. Moreover, *rakṣyāmi* is found in BKM. at ii. 2. 2<sup>41</sup>. Again a future *takṣyati*, etc., from the root *takṣ*, is authorized by the native grammarians, though, to be sure, it is non-quotable. Furthermore, the root *ikṣ* makes a future *ikṣyati*, etc., at iv. 40. 39, vi. 32. 25, vi. 59. 141. The form is precisely analogous to *didhākṣyāmi* instead of *didhākṣiṣyāmi*: see below, 1036 a.

933a] *Personal endings: substitution of secondary for primary ending.*

The substitution of *-ma* for *-mas* is frequent. Examples of this are: *kariṣyāma*, i. 40. 9; *drakṣyāma*, ii. 40. 22; *śakṣyāma*, ii. 56. 7, etc. Compare above, 542a. Whether we have the

substitution of *-va* for *-vas* in *raṁsyāva*, iv. 27. 25, is doubtful. See below, 938.

936e]

*Future stem of grah.*

Although Böhtlingk gives many citations for a future *grhīṣyati* (etc.), in the Bombay editions of 1888 and 1902 *gra-* is found instead of *gr-* in each one of the specified instances. The sole example of a future *grhīṣya-* that I have noted in the Bombay edition of 1902 is *grhīṣyāmus*, vi. 64. 26.—A future *grahīṣyati* is made at vi. 82. 74 G., to which passage, however, By. seems to have no correspondent. Neither of the forms above quoted is metri causa.—It may here be noted that the future *grhīṣyati* (etc.) is not peculiar to Epic Sanskrit, as it is found in the Brhat-Kathā-Māñjarī at xvi. 2. 39. The form *grhīṣyāmi* (l. c. ix. 1. 20.<sup>119</sup>) is apparently a compromise between *grhīṣyāmi* and *grahīṣyāmi*.

*Future stem of jan.*

A future stem *jāsyā-* is sometimes found instead of the regular *janīsyā-*. Thus: *-jāsyatha*, P. i. 38. 6, and comm. on By. i. 37. 6.

938]

*Optative.*

*Drakṣyeta* is found at iii. 56. 20. The comm. explains it by *paśyēt*.

938]

*Imperative.*

Though Böhtlingk refuses to admit a future imperative for the epics, yet in the Rāmāyaṇa there are some undeniable instances of it. Such are: *apanesyantū*, iii. 56. 27; *drakṣyantū*, vi. 73. 7; *vatsyantū*, vii. 40. 17. Furthermore, I hold with Hopkins (Epic, p. 247) that forms in *-syadhvam* are future imperatives. Examples of these are: *bhaviṣyadhvam*, i. 27. 27; *drakṣyadhvam*, iv. 67. 21; *gamiṣyadhvam*, G. vii. 38. 113. The only example of a future imperative in *-ma* that I have noted is *gamiṣyāma*, By. vii. 35. 63 (=G. vii. 38. 113). Perhaps *raṁsyāva*, iv. 27. 25, belongs under the rubric of future imperative. See above, 933 a.

941]

*Conditional.*

In all the poem I have noted but one instance of the conditional, namely: *samayokṣyata* (vi. 128. 67); this the comm. correctly designates as such (he says *ārṣo lṛṇ*).

**Periphrastic future.**944b] *Omission of auxiliary.*

The usual *asmi* is omitted with *kartā* and *yoddhā*, found respectively at i. 18. 58 and i. 20. 3.

944c] *Optative of auxiliary.*

Whitney gives one example of this, namely, *yoddhā syām*, which is found at P.Sl. i. 22. 25; in place of it By. (i. 20. 27) and G. (i. 23. 26) in the corresponding passages have *yoddhūṃ yāsyāmi* and *pratiyotsyāmi* respectively. I have noted no other.

**VERBAL ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS.****Passive participle.***Use of the auxiliary vowel -i-*

In the Rāmāyaṇa the auxiliary vowel *-i-* is sometimes used in the past passive participle of verbs where it is not employed in Classical Sanskrit. An example is *nīrasita-*, G. iv. 13. 45 (*usta-*, V. +). Compare Pāli *tasita-*, Pkt. *tasiya-* (beside *tattha* = Skt. *trasta-*), \**trasita-*, as contrasted with Skt. *trasta-*; Pāli *supita-*, as opposed to Skt. *supta-*.

*Non-use of the auxiliary vowel -i-*

In the Rāmāyaṇa the auxiliary vowel *-i-* is rarely omitted in the past passive participles of verbs where in Classical Sanskrit such omission either does not obtain or else is rare. Examples are: *kṣubdha-*, ii. 114. 4 (*kṣubhita-* E. +; *kṣubdha-* B. +, but rare in C.); *-uṣṭa-*, vii. 23. 4 (*uṣita-*, S. +; *uṣṭa-* E.). With *-uṣṭa-* may be compared Pāli and Pkt. *vuttha-*.<sup>1</sup> With the Skt. *timita-*, *guphita-*, *apahasita-*, *laṣita-*, contrast the forms *tinta-* (Pāli, Ap.), *guttha-* (Pkt.), *ohatṭha-* (Pkt.), *latṭha-* (Pkt.): cf. Pischel, § 564, § 565.

**Infinitives.***Use of the auxiliary vowel -i-*

In the Rāmāyaṇa the auxiliary vowel *-i-* is sometimes used in the stem of the infinitive where it is either wholly wanting or

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise Pischel, who implies that Pkt. [and Pāli] *vuttha-* comes from \**vasta-*. Pāli *visita-* and Pkt. *usia-* correspond to Skt. *uṣita-*; whereas, on the other hand, Pāli *vasita-* and Pkt. *vasia-* imply formation from *vas* as a secondary root.

else rare in Classical Sanskrit. Examples are: *sahitum*, ii. 20. 46, ii. 23. 10, ii. 40. 42, ii. 30. 21; *-haritum*, iii. 68. 4; *bandhitum*, Sl. G. ii. 18. 23; *nayitum*, v. 37. 39. In Pāli and Prākṛit the same phenomenon occurs. Thus: Pkt. *gamidum*, Pāli *gamitum*, as contrasted with Skt. *gantum*. Similarly Pkt. *karidum*, *mar-ium*, *-haridum*, *ramidum*, *dehidum*, *-bandhidum*, = Skt. *kartum*, *martum*, *hartum* (*haritum* once in R.), *ranitum* (Epic *ramitum*), *dagdhum*, *banddhum* (Epic *bandhitum*), respectively. Compare above, under Passive Participle, Use of the auxiliary vowel -i-.

*Non-use of the auxiliary vowel -i-.*

In the Rāmāyaṇa the auxiliary vowel -i- is rarely omitted in the stem of the infinitive where it is used in Classical Sanskrit. An example is *laptum*, v. 26. 1 (*lapitum* C.).

*Infinitive modeled on present stem.*

At ii. 106. 5 *-sīditum* is found as the infinitive of the root *sad*. This is clearly from a secondary root *sīd*, abstracted from the present *sīdati*, etc. In Pāli and Prākṛit we have the same phenomenon. Thus: Pkt. *anugacchidum* is formed from the present stem of the root *gam*; Pkt. *anucittidum* similarly; Pāli *pucchitum*, Pkt. *pucchidum* in the same way from *pucch* abstracted from the present *pucchāmi*; Pāli *gaṇhitum* from the secondary root *gaṇh* (present *gaṇhāti* = *grhṇāti*). See Pischel l. c. § 573.

*Infinitive: stem modeled on the passive participle.*

Instances of this are rare. Examples are: *prasthitum*, ii. 30. 10, *grhītu-kāmas*, G. v. 2. 25. The cases of *grhītum* for *gra-* which Böhrtlingk gives as occurring in the Bombay recension are not found in the Bo. ed. of 1902: *gra-* is always substituted. It is in place to note that *grhītum* is not peculiar to Epic Sanskrit, for it is found in BKM. xv. 1. 12<sup>347</sup>.

**Gerund.**

*Use of the auxiliary vowel -i-.*

The auxiliary vowel -i- is taken by verbs in R. in some cases, where such usage does not obtain in Classical Sanskrit. Thus: *utsamayitvā*, i. 1. 65; *smayitvā*,<sup>1</sup> vi. 71. 46; *-tapitvā*,<sup>2</sup> vi. 68. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Given by Whitney as occurring in compounds only.

<sup>2</sup> Not registered by Whitney.

990a]

*Gerund: -tvā for -ya.*

Gerunds in *-tvā* from compounded roots are very common, but the majority of them are from the causative stem. Examples from the primary conjugation are: *utsamayitvā*, i. 1. 65, iii. 43. 43; *upāsītṛvā*, i. 1. 97; *anudhyātṛvā*, P. i. 2. 20; *puraskṛtṛvā*, i. 11. 27, i. 73. 10; *āprstṛvā*, i. 72. 20, i. 74. 1, 2; *vinardītṛvā*, iii. 30. 18; *visarpītṛvā*, iv. 63. 2; *asauṣprstṛvā*, iv. 67. 16; *nihatṛvā*, v. 53. 40; *prabaddhṛvā*, v. 58. 131; *pratapītṛvā*, vi. 68. 3. Examples from the causative stem are: *nivedayītṛvā*, i. 1. 74, iii. 1. 18, iv. 39. 43; *visarjayītṛvā*, i. 8. 21, 23, i. 12. 22, ii. 19. 34, iv. 38. 2, vi. 9. 23; *saṁvartayītṛvā*, i. 16. 24; *saṁcintayītṛvā*, i. 54. 5; *āropayītṛvā*, i. 67. 17; *utthāpayītṛvā*, ii. 72. 23; *-vartayītṛvā*, ii. 73. 27, iv. 30. 22; *āśvāsayītṛvā*, ii. 89. 22; *niveśayītṛvā*, ii. 89. 22, iv. 39. 44; *saṁyogayītṛvā*, ii. 115. 18; *pradārśayītṛvā*, iii. 32. 25; *pralobhayītṛvā*, iii. 40. 18, iii. 42. 8; *apavāhayītṛvā*, iv. 28. 39; *paritoṣayītṛvā*, iv. 30. 57; *nīpūdayītṛvā*, iv. 31. 37; *prasādayītṛvā*, iv. 31. 44; *prāpayītṛvā*, iv. 58. 35; *viṣṭambhayītṛvā*, v. 36. 35; *utpādayītṛvā*, v. 43. 17; *atikramayītṛvā*, vi. 41. 66; *vicārayītṛvā*, vii. 46. 21.

Pāṇini at vii. 1. 38 states that gerunds in *-tvā* from compounded roots occur in the Veda. As a matter of fact they occur from AV. down. Whitney cites *pratyaṣpayītṛvā*, AV. (the only case in AV.); *saṁrayītṛvā*, MS.; *virocayītṛvā*, TA.; *utkṣiptṛvā*, U.; *pratyuktṛvā*, E.; *pratyasītṛvā*, S.; *prahasītṛvā*, Mbh.; *saṁdarśayītṛvā*, Mbh.; *vimuktṛvā*, R.; *nivedayītṛvā*, R.; *proktṛvā*, Pañc.; *anuyītṛvā*, V.B.S.

In Pāli compounded verbs of the primary conjugation take *-tvā* more frequently than *-ya*. Examples are: *āruhitṛvā*, SN. ii. 8. 6; *saññatṛvā*, Majjh. i. 1. 1, p. 1; *paṭipucchitṛvā*, ibidem i. 1. 5, p. 27; *purakkhatṛvā*, ib. i. 1. 5, p. 28; *nikkhipitṛvā*, ib. i. 4. 1. p. 207; *anupariharitṛvā*, ib. i. 5. 5, p. 306; *abbhañjitṛvā*, ib. ii. 1. 1, p. 343; *sacchikatṛvā*, ib. ii. 1. 1, p. 344; *ābhujitṛvā*, ib. ii. 1. 1, p. 346; *santharitṛvā*, ib. ii. 1. 3, p. 354; *pavisitṛvā*, ib. ii. 1. 3, p. 354; *manasikaritṛvā*, ib. ii. 1. 3, p. 354. Examples where *-ya* is used are: *oruyha* (Skt. *avaruhya*), F.Jāt. 46; *ādāya*, *utthāya*, *nissāya*—all in Majjh. ii. 1. 3, on p. 354. Compounded causative verbs take the gerund in *-tvā* exclusively. Examples are *paṇāmetṛvā* (SN. iii. 7, p. 108); *vūṭisāretṛvā* (SN. iii. 7, p. 103); *ohāretṛvā*, *acchādetṛvā*<sup>1</sup> (both at Majjh. ii. 1. 1,

<sup>1</sup> Skt. *ācchā-*, not Skt. *ācchā-*.

p. 344); *abhivādetvā*, *nicāsetvā*, *paññāpetvā*, *patitthāpetvā*, *paṅkhaletvā*, *sandassetvā*, *samādupetvā*, *samuttejetvā*, *samputaṇsetvā*, *āropetvā* (all at Majjh. ii. 1. 3, p. 354).

In Prākṛit, AMg. and JŚ. and JM. use *-tvā* frequently in place of *-ya*. Thus AMg. *ucanēttā* = \**upanītvā*, *utthittā* = \**utsthītvā*, *nijjhāittā* = \**nīdhyātvā*, *āphalittā* = \**āsphālayitvā*, *uttāsaittā* = \**uttrāsajitvā*, *payappaēttā* = \**prakalpayitvā*; JŚ. *ālocittā* = \**alocayitvā*, *pihanittā* = \**nihanītvā*; JM. *āhanittā* = \**āhanītvā*, *paccakkhāittā* = \**pratyākhyāyitvā*. For details see Pischel, §§ 581-594.

990a]

Gerund: *-ya* for *-tvā*.

Gerunds in *-ya* (for *-tvā*) from uncompounded roots are not uncommon, but are confined to a comparatively small number of verbs. Examples are: *uṣya*, i. 27. 1, i. 48. 9, ii. 15. 1, ii. 52. 84, vii. 72. 19; *grhya*,<sup>1</sup> i. 29. 25, i. 43. 6, i. 49. 6, ii. 3. 34, iii. 68. 13; *drśya*, i. 30. 19, i. 48. 11, i. 76. 22, vii. 1. 11, vii. 8. 19, vii. 23. 33, vii. 33. 8; *tyajya*, i. 58. 11; *yajya*, Sl. ii. 39. 10; *tudya*, ii. 75. 17; *ruṣya*, ii. 97. 12; *gamya*, iii. 69. 5; *sthāpya*, ii. 14. 22, iv. 25. 52, vi. 41. 3, vii. 23. 28; *lakṣya*, vii. 15. 1; *prēcya*, vii. 37. 17; *labhya*, vii. 23. 60. The fixed number of syllables is responsible in small measure for part of these, especially in the case of *sthāpya* (*grhya* occurs so frequently that we can scarcely assign this as a cause). The fact that no gerund in *-tvā* is quotable from the roots *tud* and *ruṣ* accounts for *tudya* and *ruṣya* respectively: the meter as regards these two is not a determining factor. The termination *o-ōv* at the close of the posterior pāda of a half-sloka is accountable for *uṣya*, ii. 52. 84; *drśya*, i. 48. 11, vii. 8. 19, vii. 23. 33; *gamya*, *labhya*. The first vipulā is the cause of *drśya* at vii. 1. 11, for the second vipulā (*-ōōv*) is not as frequent after *v---* as is *ōōōv*: see Hopkins, Epic, pp. 221, 235, 236, 448 (bottom), 449 (top), 450. *Drśya*, at i. 30. 19, i. 76. 22, vii. 33. 8, and *prēcya* are in order to make the fifth syllable of a pathyā pāda as the prior pāda of a half-sloka short. The remaining examples (*uṣya*, i. 27. 1, i. 48. 9, ii. 15. 1, vii. 72. 19, *tyajya*, *yajya* [By. *yuktā*]) are not metri causa.

<sup>1</sup> *Grhya* occurs so frequently in every book of the Rāmāyaṇa that it is not worth while to cite every passage in which it occurs, even in the first three books.

In Mbh. the same phenomenon occurs; for examples, Holtzmann, p. 40. BhP. has *kṛtya* at x. 32. 8. Whitney (l.c.) cites a few examples from Manu, AGS., ŚvU. As *-tvā* is not used in Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit, and only occurs in the gerunds *kadvā* and *gadvā* (= *kṛtvā* and *gatvā* respectively) in Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and Dhakkī Pkt., there is no need of citing instances where uncompounded verbs of these dialects have *-ya* for *-tvā*. Examples where Prākṛit dialects other than these show *-ya* for *-tvā* in uncompounded verbs are: AMg. *passa* (= *\*paśya*), *chindiya* (= *\*chindya*), *jāniya*; JM. *suniya*; JM. JŚ. *gahiya* (= Epic *grhya*); Ā. *gēṇhia*.

990b] *Gerunds with the negative prefix a.*

Pāṇini, vii. 1. 37, gives the rule that verbs compounded with the negative prefix *a* take the gerund in *-tvā*. Kielhorn (Skt. Gr. § 513 b) merely states that *a* is permissible with either *-tvā* or *-ya*. He gives *anītvā* and *acorayītvā* as instances where *-tvā* is used; others may be given: *adr̥ṣtvā* (KuS. i. 6, BhP. vi. 5. 6, 11, 12; By. iv. 47. 7, v. 13. 38), *avidītvā* (BhP. ix. 18. 40), *akṛtvā* (By. iv. 65. 30), *abaddhvā* (By. vi. 2. 11), *acin-tayītvā* (By. vi. 56. 12, vi. 100. 45); *ahatvā* (By. iii. 23. 22); *adarśayītvā* (By. vi. 65. 4). As examples where *-ya* is used he cites *avinīya* and *aprabodhya*; but in any case the verbal prefixes *vi-* and *pra-* require the gerund in *-ya*: the only case of a gerund which has the negative prefix *a* as well as a verbal prefix, but the suffix *-tvā* instead of *-ya*, that I can cite for Sanskrit is *asamspr̥ṣtvā*, By. iv. 67. 16, which is matched by Pāli *asallakkhetvā* (Andersen, *Pāli Reader*, p. 3, line 18). Whitney states that the negative prefix *a* (or *an*) does not cause the gerund to take the form in *-ya*, but cites *acintya* as an exception. His exception is found at By. vi. 58. 51; and to it I can add from my collections only *adr̥śya* (v. 7. 16) and *agr̥hya* (vi. 101. 35).

993a] *Gerund in -yā (?)*.

The comm. at ii. 39. 10 (By. ed. 1902) gives *yoyjā* as a variant to *yuktā* of the text: *yuktā=yojayītvā*. *yoyjā iti pāṭhe 'pi evam eva*. Sl. reads *yoyja*. As far as the meter is concerned any one of these three readings satisfies the requirements. Unless *yoyjā* is a misprint (and the Bombay oblong text



does not help us in this matter, for it has *yojyēti*, etc.), we have an extraordinary archaism, for in RV. the *-a* of *-ya* is long in two-thirds of the cases. The prolongation is found in AV. but once, and that in a RV. passage (so Whitney).

## SECONDARY CONJUGATIONS.

### Intensive.

1013b] *Present active participle with retained nasal.*

At i. 60. 31 *jājēdān* occurs instead of the regular *jājēdat*.

### Desiderative.

1036a]

#### *Future.*

The irregular *didhaksyāmi* is found at iii. 68. 27. The comm. says *daydham icchāmi śyan ārsah*. The future *raksye*, i. 61. 19 (marked with an interrogation point in Whitney's Root-Book, though the comm. explicitly glosses it by *raksisyāmi*), in place of *raksisyē*,<sup>1</sup> is a precise analogy to *didhaksyāmi* instead of *didhaksisyāmi*. Accordingly it is somewhat doubtful whether *jñāsyāmas* (Mbh.), *didhaksyāmi* (R.), and *mīmāṇsyant* (GGS.), all of which Whitney declares to be "presents with *-sya-* blunderingly for *-sa-*," are not to be regarded as futures with *-sya-* (through *-s[i]sya-*) in place of *-sisya-*.

### Causative.

1042n]

#### *Stem in -āpayā-*

To Whitney's examples *krīḍāpayā*, *jīvāpayā*, and *dikṣāpayā* I can only add *tarjāpayati* and *bhartsāpayati* (both at vi. 34. 9). It is unnecessary to give Pāli and Prākṛit examples, as this formation is a favorite in both. See Pischel, §§ 551-553.

1043<sup>2</sup>f] *Present middle participle: -āna- for -māna-*

Instances of this are fairly numerous. Examples are: *sobhayānāu*, i. 22. 7; *prārthayānasya*, ii. 25. 33; *cintayāna-*, i. 8. 2, ii. 64. 58, ii. 118. 38, iii. 55. 2, vii. 37<sup>2</sup>. 28; *lobhayānam*, iii. 44. 5; *vedayānas*, vi. 67. 26.

1050a]

#### *Sigmatic future.*

Examples of this are frequent. Without pretending to completeness I cite: *lepayisyāmi*, ii. 9. 49; *kārayisyasi*, ii. 12. 75;

<sup>1</sup> Not in Whitney's Root-Book: it occurs at BhP. viii. 22. 35.

*smārayiṣyati*, iv. 1. 68; *bhakṣayiṣyati*, iv. 57. 3; *laṅghayiṣyati*, iv. 64. 15; *dārayiṣyāmi*, iv. 67. 17; *śoṣayiṣyāmi*, iv. 67. 17, 22, vi. 21. 22, vi. 22. 1; *sādhayiṣyati*, iv. 65. 34; *cūrṇayiṣyāmi*, iv. 67. 18; *kampayiṣyāmi*, iv. 67. 22; *dhārayiṣyati*, iv. 67. 36; *āvarjayiṣyāmi*, v. 62. 2; *ādīpayiṣyāmi*, vi. 13. 19; *kṣobhayiṣye*, vi. 21. 24; *vādayiṣyāmi*, vi. 24. 43; *saṁdarśayiṣyati*, vi. 25. 19; *vartayiṣyasi*, vi. 33. 30; *dārāyīṣye*, vi. 60. 69; *bodhayiṣyati*, vi. 60. 70; *tarpayiṣyāmi*, vi. 60. 80; *utsādayiṣyāmi*, vi. 63. 42; *yodhayiṣyāmi*, vi. 63. 43; *pātayiṣyāmi*, vi. 63. 52; *śamayiṣyāmi*, vi. 63. 52; *janayiṣyati*, vi. 101. 10; *darśayiṣyāmi*, vii. 98. 6.

### COMPOUNDS.

#### \* Form of prior member.

##### *an-* stems.

Although an *an-* stem, as prior member of a compound, regularly loses the nasal, *ukṣan-* at ii. 32. 38 makes *ukṣāṇa-*, a transfer to the *a-* declension from the accusative *ukṣāṇam*.

##### *i-* stems.

*Arci* makes *arci-* in the compound *saptasaptārcīrcarcasus* at v. 45. 1 and in the compound *arcimālī* at v. 53. 40. That is, *arci* in these two instances is transferred to the *i-* declension.

#### Case-forms as prior member of a compound.

In the Veda all the oblique cases are so found (Whitney, Gr. § 1250). The instances of nominatives thus occurring are confined to a few *ṛ-* stems and are plainly devoid of functional significance (cf. *mātā-pitr̥bhyām*, *-pitros*). In the epos, accordingly, the survivals of this phenomenon are confined wholly to compounds with an accusative: but some are of stereotyped character, and are no longer felt as compounds (such are *patanṅga-*, *vihanṅga[ma]*). Instances where the compounds are felt to be such are fairly numerous. Examples are: *pathyaṁ-carām*, ii. 30. 9; *sāgaranṅgamām*, ii. 49. 10, ii. 52. 3.

#### Stem-finals in composition.

1315a]

##### *an-* stems.

As the final member of a compound, *rājan* often loses its *-n*; and so we find beside *yuvarājānam* (ii. 4. 16) *yuvarājas* (v. 64. 17), and beside *surarājānas* (ii. 74. 17) *surarājas* (ii. 74. 19). Furthermore, we have *pratirājānas* at i. 70. 28.

## APPENDICES.

Gender.<sup>1</sup>

In R. a few words are of a gender different from that which they show in Classical Sanskrit. The following are worthy of mention:

*Masculine for feminine.*

At i. 71. 24 *phalgunyām* is masculine, as is shown by *uttare* agreeing with it.

At ii. 40. 6 *gatir* is masculine unless *çā* (so Sl., By. 1873 and 1888) be a misprint for *çā* (the meter favors *çā*).

*Parikhā-* is masculine at vi. 42. 16, as is shown by its termination *-ān*.

*Masculine for neuter.*

At i. 2. 9 *mithuna-* is masculine as in Veda. This is shown by *carantam*, which agrees with it.

*Āśramapadu-* at i. 10. 15 is masculine as shown by its termination *-o*, though at iii. 11. 47 it is neuter.

At i. 45. 19 *-sarpaśirāṅsi* has a masculine pple. *vamanto* agreeing with it. This is a sense-construction. P. has *vamanty*, i. 45. 20, corresponding to *-anto*.

At i. 53. 19 *śatāni* has a masculine adj. agreeing with it, namely, *bhūṣitān*. This is a case of attraction caused by the masc. *hayānām* (which depends on *śatāni*), in the next pāda.

*Feminine for neuter.*

The comm., i. 2. 6, gives *valkalā* as a variant to *-lam* of the text.

*Neuter for masculine.*

At vi. 10. 16 occurs *sarīṣpāni*. BR. mention the use of the word with this gender as found in the older language.

*Neuter for feminine (?)*

Hanumant says to Sītā (v. 38. 3) 'you can't cross the ocean because you're a woman,' *strītvān na tvam samarthāsi*

*sāgarān vyativartitum*.

Here the comm. gives the variant:

*strī tvam na tu samarthān hi,*

<sup>1</sup> See also Hopkins, Epic, p. 264, footnote.

and says that *samarthan* is for *-thā*, and quotes Tīrtha to the effect that the change of gender is archaic. Even with his reading we need resort to no such desperate shifting: join *strītvam na tu samarthan hi* 'womanhood (i. e. womankind) is not able.'

*Breaches of common concord.*

These are not frequent. The following are of sufficient interest to justify their insertion:

*Dual subject with plural verb.*

If, with Böhrling, we regard *sma* at i. 31. 4 as a finite verb, such a case is found here:

*imāu sma munīśārdūla  
kīṁkarāu samupāgatāu  
ājñāpaya munīśreṣṭha  
śāsanam karavāva kim.*

If *sva* were found elsewhere in R., as it is in Mbh., we might be justified in emending *sma* in this instance to *sva*; but the comm. takes *sma* as a particle, and this seems wholly acceptable, and is supported somewhat by the variant of G. (at i. 34. 4), which has *imāu dvāu*.

*Dual subject with singular verb.*

At vi. 48. 16 we have an undoubted case of this in the words *rāghavāu pratyapadyata*. In the verse vi. 22. 6, which reads

*tasmin vikṛṣṭe sahasā  
rāghaveṇa śarāsane  
rodasī sampaphāleva  
parvatās ca cakampire,*

we have perhaps rather to assume that *rodasī* is felt and used as a singular, as it undoubtedly is at RV. viii. 70 (59). 5.

*Plural subject with singular verb.*

The diiambic rule is responsible for the following case:

*aṣṭādaśa hi varṣāni  
mama janmani ganyate, iii. 47. 11.*

Hopkins, *Epic*, p. 245, gives other interesting examples of this kind, showing how grammar is subordinated to metrical exigencies.

*Recent Discussions of Totemism.*—By PROFESSOR CRAWFORD  
H. TOY, Harvard University.

THE terms "totem" and "totemism" have been and still are used in several different senses. Mr. Frazer in his *Totemism* speaks of clan totems, sex totems, and individual totems; and, though he observes that the second and third of these are not really totems, he continues to employ the terms, and they have ever since been employed. As the precise meaning of the word "totem" is not known, its employment is a matter of convention—we may use it as we will. But the things meant by the three terms mentioned above differ one from another in some important respects. The first term designates a clan organization, the third has no bearing on the communal clan life, and the second is too vague to be significant. It is desirable in the interest of clearness to have different names for things so different, and, as the first of these varieties is by far the most important, it is better to restrict the terms "totem" and "totemism" to the clan organization, and to give other names to the other two sorts, and such is the tendency in recent discussions. We may therefore reserve the designation "totemism" to indicate an exogamous organization in which a clan thinks itself allied by an intimate and sacred bond to a species of animal or plant or to some other natural object, every person male or female of the clan being born into the clan, all the members of the clan refraining from eating of the totem object when this is edible. What is called the individual or personal totem is not inherited but is chosen by the man himself or by his parents or friends, and as a rule is not transmissible, nor does it affect marriage relations; it resembles, then, the clan totem only in the single point of involving an intimate relation between men and a certain class of natural objects. We may call it a tutelary spirit. Of the so-called "sex totemism" we have very little information. It has been observed so far only in Australia, and there only in a few places, and appears to have no influence whatever on the social life of the tribe. It resembles the others in that it is marked by a special relation between human beings

and classes of animals or plants, but otherwise it seems to be without sociological significance, and, without denying that it may prove to be important, it will here be ignored. Exogamy is commonly assumed as a characteristic of clan totemism; though it has not been proved to exist everywhere, yet it is so generally found in communities in which totemism in a strict sense exists that we are warranted in regarding it provisionally as a characteristic of totemism.

Further, it has lately been insisted that totemism must be kept apart from the general worship of animals and plants, of which there are examples all over the world. The same remark holds of the cult of family gods, of the organization of secret societies, of the employment of oaths, ordeals, colors, and of the observation of omens from the appearances of animals or plants. In all these cases there is a relation to an animal; but they do not present the peculiar social characteristics of clan totemism. It is possible that they may be found, in the last analysis, to be closely related to totemism. In the meantime it will conduce to clearness to keep them apart.

The question of the line of descent in early communities requires fuller examination than has yet been given it. In general in strictly totémic communities the descent is through the mother, and the practice of exogamy is held by many to be immediately connected with this rule of descent. But as the facts are not fully known, it will be better to treat every case by itself, to inquire in each case how descent is reckoned, and whether, if it be through the father, there are traces of its having been formerly through the mother.

What seemed to be a revolutionary description of totemism was announced by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in their work on *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (1899). Of the Arunta tribe, which apparently had a totémic constitution, they stated that marriage was permitted within the totem clan, and that it was not only allowed but was in certain cases required that the clansmen should eat of their totem. This description, the correctness of which is indisputable, seemed to some writers to force us to a new definition of totemism, and to call for a re-examination of the whole subject. But a closer analysis of the facts, as given by Spencer and Gillen, has made it probable that the condition of things in the Arunta tribe is not primitive,

that we have in fact here not the original form of totemistic organization, but rather a development in which some of the early characteristics have been modified. Though the clans are now endogamous, there are signs that they were formerly exogamous; though they now eat the totem, there are hints that this was not always the custom. That is, we have apparently in this tribe an example of a partial dissolution of totemism.<sup>1</sup>

Another instance of partial dissolution must probably be recognized in the case of the Kwakiutl tribes of British Columbia reported by Dr. Franz Boas.<sup>2</sup> In these tribes, he states, the clan is not held to be descended from the totem—to all questions concerning the origin of a totem he obtained in answer only legends recounting how a mythical ancestor had received the crest of the clan from an animal. Such crests are now placed on the fronts of houses and on totem poles. The legends, however, appear to involve belief in descent from a beast. Thus the ancestor of the bear clan was transformed, by association with a bear, into the shape of that animal, and a magical ceremony was necessary to restore his human form. Obviously the bear was the ancestor. This story is quite of a piece with those that are told of the Arunta mythical ancestors, among whom changes from man to beast and from beast to man were frequent and facile: As to individual guardian spirits, these are found alongside of the clan totem, and doubtless had a different origin. It may be added that the “totem posts,” with their elaborate heraldic devices, though they do not absolutely involve descent from beasts, accord naturally with that hypothesis, and indeed receive from it their easiest explanation. It appears, then, that neither the Arunta conditions nor those of British Columbia call for a modification of the current definition of a totemic clan.

The necessity of recognizing the process of dissolution has been brought out in recent works. Dissolution is a general social phenomenon, but it is only of late years that its importance in the study of totemism has been recognized. It has become apparent that in every case of an apparently totemistic cult it is necessary to inquire whether this represents the earliest

<sup>1</sup> See the criticisms in *Folk-Lore*, 11, 65 ff. and *L'Année Sociolog.* 5, 82 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In *U. S. Nat. Mus. Report*, 1895, p. 323.



form or is a modification of early forms induced by social progress. There are hundreds of examples of animal cults in the world, exhibiting many slight differences in detail, some of them appearing to approach very near totemism. There may always be, of course, a question whether any incomplete form is preparatory to or consequent on the more developed form; this question can be answered only by a full examination of all the facts accessible.

Recent writers have announced a good many theories of the origin of totemism. The most of these may be included in two classes: those which deduce the institution from an individual custom, and those which refer it to an original clan usage. We may briefly mention the principal varieties under these heads.

Proceeding from the sociological view that the family and the clan are founded by individuals, it is natural to suppose that such may be the origin of totemistic organizations. A totem clan is in fact simply a clan with a peculiar relation to some natural object; if we can account for the origin of clans in general, it will remain only to ask how such bodies came to believe that they had a peculiar connection with an animal or a plant. One view, which has been provisionally indorsed by Dr. E. B. Tylor, is based on a Melanesian custom: a man announces that after death he will take the form of this or that animal or plant; his descendants will revere the object in question as the embodiment of the spirit of the ancestor, and thus the man becomes the founder of a totemic family.<sup>1</sup> A similar theory is that which is suggested by Hill-Tout<sup>2</sup> from the custom of certain village communities in British Columbia, in which the individual mark is said to pass into the clan mark; for some reason a man chooses an animal or plant for his special friend and device, and, if he is a prominent man, his example may be followed and the totem clan arises. A somewhat different form of this individual theory is suggested by the well known custom of many American Indian tribes, among whom the youth after fasting and watching sees in a vision the animal or other object which is to be his personal protector; and, as in the cases mentioned above, it is assumed that any one who should found a family might hand down his protecting spirit to his descendants

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<sup>1</sup> *Jour. Anthr. Inst.*, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Cited in *Folk-Lore*, 18, 368.

and become the founder of a totem clan.<sup>1</sup> A similar custom of choosing a protecting spirit exists, according to Hose and McDougall, among the Sea Dyaks: the spirit appears in a dream to a man, becomes his protector, and the man's descendants may share in the benefits of this protection, and thus a totemic community may arise.<sup>2</sup> A different line of development appears in the suggestion of Mr. N. W. Thomas that the totem may have originated with the magical apparatus of certain men, this apparatus consisting of parts of an animal—the animal would thus become sacred, a sort of magical society would be formed owing its origin to some individual magician, and a magical totemic clan would be created.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Herbert Spencer, as is well known, referred the origin of totemism to an epithet or nickname given to a man as characteristic of his qualities, the name being generally that of an animal or plant; the man after his death, the supposition is, would be revered, and would be identified with the object whose name he bore, and so the animal ancestor would be conceived of. Finally under this head may be mentioned the earlier theory of J. B. Frazer that the totem object is the locus of the hidden soul. Frazer's very interesting collection of examples of the belief in hidden souls (in his *Golden Bough*) is well known.

All these theories are, of course, mere hypotheses—no example has yet been produced of the actual rise of a totem clan from such individual action. There is doubtless much in savage life to suggest and support this hypothesis, and the fact that it has commended itself to so many observers entitles it to respectful consideration. Against it, however, a number of objections have been urged. Those who hold that uterine descent is the rule in early societies find herein a fatal objection to the theory. If a man is to found a clan, it must be by male descent; otherwise the clan would speedily be broken up into fragments by the presence of women of various groups, whose children belong to the group of the mother. The rule of descent, as is remarked above, cannot be said to be perfectly well established; but the number of cases in which uterine

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Miss Alice Fletcher, in *Proc. Amer. Assoc. for Adv. of Science*, 45, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Anthr. Inst.*, 31, 196.

<sup>3</sup> *Man*, 1902, No. 85.

descent exists among low tribes is so great that many writers are disposed to consider it the prevailing rule. Leaving this point aside, there is another difficulty, of a serious character, in this hypothesis. Systems of tutelary spirits of individuals are found, so far as we know, only in relatively advanced tribes, in such as are partly agricultural (as the Sea Dyaks), or such as have advanced beyond the hunting stage (as in Melanesia), or such as possess the elements of civilization (as some of the North American tribes in the United States). In all such cases it becomes a question whether the individualistic system is not later and higher than the totemic constitution proper. According to Miss Fletcher and others, the procedure of the young Indian, when he sets out in obedience to a dream or vision to find his protector, is marked by deep seriousness and a high degree of reflection, traits that are not found in the lowest stratum of life. Doubtless the influence of individual men has been great. But in historical times we find that the achievement of individual leaders lies rather in the modification of existing forms and ideas than in the creation of new systems, and such we should suppose to have been the case in the earlier period. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen remark that in the central Australian tribes the leaders, commonly old men, appear to have introduced reforms or modifications in customs from time to time; but these have apparently not touched the essential principles of the tribal life. In the absence of definite information, therefore, the proposed theory of individual origination of totemism cannot be regarded as satisfactory. All that we know of social history leads us to regard customs and organizations as the slow growth of generations or centuries, beginning and developing we hardly know how, making themselves felt by faint suggestions and minute movements, and taking definite shape only after a great lapse of time. This fact does not stand in opposition to the view, held by some, that the original community was a patriarchal family, consisting of a man with a wife, or several wives, and maintaining itself as a unity.

Passing now from these theories of individual origin, we find among recent works suggestions of a different sort. It is a not unnatural view that totemism arises from the deliberate choice of a clan. Every group of early men, it may be supposed, would naturally seek a powerful extra-human protector, and to

this end would turn to one of the objects that it had come to invest with power, and with which it felt itself to have some relation—ordinarily an animal or a plant. Animals would be conceived of as being organized in classes or communities similar to those which existed among men. The human clan would enter into an alliance with the animal clan, would take its name, would regard it with reverence, and when it was edible, would refrain from using it as an article of food. When the clan had once become identified with the animal clan, the totem, under the existing rule of exogamy, would attach itself to the totem group. The totem, belonging to the human clan, would be inherited by every new-born child. Thus we should have all the recognized characteristics of the totem clan.

In this simple and attractive theory one feels that difficulty is made by the supposition of deliberate choice. Customs, as is remarked above, are not invented. It is doubtful whether a single example can be found of a community's deliberately choosing a god or a religion, and certainly such mode of procedure is scarcely conceivable in the case of very early peoples. Further, the peculiar relation between man and the totem object is here supposed to be later than the formation of the clan. This is a point as to which no definite opinion can now be pronounced, but the probability is that the peculiar attitude of men toward the animals about them began with the earliest human life and grew with human organization. All the laws that govern savage life—exogamy, uterine descent, kinship with animals—probably had their origin in conditions and feelings that belong to the very first stages of human existence. To this theory, further, the same objection may be urged that has been supposed to tell against the individualistic hypothesis, namely that, if uterine descent were the rule, the choice of a totem object by a clan would be impossible. Other clans would act in the same way and their women would carry their totems to neighboring tribes, and it would be impossible to maintain totemic unity in any given clan. The objections to this hypothesis are strong enough to make us look elsewhere for the explanation of totemism.

Mr. Frazer's earlier view has already been mentioned.<sup>1</sup> Messrs. Spencer and Gillen's account of the Arunta tribe led him

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<sup>1</sup> For a criticism of this view see *Folk-Lore*, 13, 359 ff.

to adopt another theory. The function of the Arunta totem group, it seemed to him, is to procure food for the tribe. Every totem group performs magical ceremonies for the purpose of securing an abundant supply of its own totem object, animal or plant. To it is assigned the duty of bringing to the common store the products of its hunting or gathering. Every clan has to introduce its own variety of food by a solemn ceremony of eating. The kangaroo, for example, is forbidden food to the other clans of the tribe until the kangaroo clan, in the person of its elders, has first tasted the flesh of the animal; after this the flesh is free to the other clans but forbidden to the kangaroo clan. Thus every clan is of the nature of a magical society. By some means, Mr. Frazer supposes, a system of economic coöperation was established, an admirable method for assuring a sufficiency of food to the tribe. Such a system might be economically effective, but it does not appear to explain totemism. It is found, as far as we know, only in this one small group of tribes, and indeed supposes a degree of reflection and capacity of coöperation that we should not expect among savages. Moreover, the Arunta system has traces of a process of disintegration. It seems more likely that the solemn tasting of the animal or plant by the principal clan is a development out of an earlier stage in which the clan refrained from eating of its totem object. The theory in question would not account satisfactorily for the sense of kinship between animal and man, and the belief that the clan is descended from an animal ancestor. The beginning of totemism must be sought in a period when it was perfectly natural for men to regard themselves as the kinsmen of beasts, and when they regarded beasts as invested with some peculiar powers—when it was possible for men to regard animals as the creators of things and the founders of institutions.

Mr. Frazer has combined his earlier theory with his later one by the suggestion that the soul hidden in an animal was transmitted from generation to generation and became as it were the soul of the clan. The Arunta view is that birth is the result of the entrance of the spirit of an ancestor into the body of a woman; every child is thus the re-incarnation of an animal ancestor—a man of the kangaroo clan regards himself as identical with the kangaroo. Thus the identity between clan and

animal would be established, and thus we might account for the partial prohibition of eating the clan totem. Yet it is not clear why such identity between the clan and its totem should impose on the human group the duty of securing its totem object as food for the tribe. The theory of re-incarnation is found among other savage tribes; but it is a distinct thing from totemism, and must be regarded as one of the numerous conceptions held by savages as to the relation between animals and men.

In Dr. Frazer's later theory the assumption of a formal alliance between clans for economic purposes may be omitted while the economic feature is in other regards retained. Modern anthropologists are inclined to hold that the starting-point of social organization was the necessity of procuring food. This view Professor Haddon has taken as the basis of a theory of totemism.<sup>1</sup> Primitive man, he remarks, moved about in small groups or in a limited area, living mainly on one kind of food; and as, according to savage ideas, food does not grow of itself but nature must be assisted by magic, each group would become a magical society, and would devote its magical ceremonies to the increase of its particular kind of food; it would thus have its own specialty in food-magic, and would be brought into sympathetic relation with a particular group, or with several groups, of animals or plants; and the human group would naturally be named by outsiders from its animal or vegetable group. (Mr. Haddon holds, however, that the association of a group of men with a group of animals or plants is earlier than the performance of magical ceremonies for increase of food.) The name being fixed, myths to account for its origin would spring up as a matter of course. Mr. Haddon thus supposes that the names come to the human groups from without; and he would assume that the sacredness of the totem arose entirely from long-established custom. In this way the fact might be accounted for that a group-name represents not what the clan eats but what it does not eat—that is, the conception of kinship with the totem would lead to a prohibition of eating it. Exogamy, Mr. Haddon would doubtless hold, is a development independent of totemism, though arising in the same general period of society.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Proc. of Brit. Assoc.*, 1902, and *Folk-Lore*, 13, 393 ff.



This hypothesis is stated by Professor Haddon only as a "guess"; in the nature of the case it has no definite historical basis. In connection with it may be mentioned Mr. Lang's "guess." Mr. Lang objects to Haddon's theory merely that it is too narrow in that it derives the name from food alone. He himself would extend the area of origin—a name, he thinks, might be based on a fancied physical resemblance to an animal, or on some assumed trait of character visible in a particular species of animal—cunning, cruelty, cowardice, strength. The names, he assumes, like Dr. Haddon, to have been given from without—that is, they were in effect nicknames given by hostile clans, though the names need not have been derisive. He supports this view by citing from J. O. Dorsey a list of Siouan names, among which are found "Breaker of Law," "Bad Nation," "Eats No Geese," "Smellers of Fish"; and with these he compares the French *blasons* and certain parish sobriquets in western England, such as "Rognes," "Stags," "Bulldogs," "Bone Pickers," "Cheese Eaters"; alongside of the Australian "witchetty-grubs" he finds that the natives of a certain English village, in which the potato grub abounds, are styled "tater-grubs." (Mr. Marett reports similar sobriquets from the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, only the groups are friendly, and the nicknames are good-natured.) Mr. Lang holds that early men wandered about in small groups, every separate group, in accordance with Darwin's view, being patriarchal and polygamous, the young men, driven away by the jealousy of the patriarch, would have to go abroad for wives, and the groups would be exogamous, but not totemistic. In the natural intercourse between the various communities thus formed sobriquets derived from various sources are imposed on the groups by their neighbors and come to be generally accepted. Such exogamous local groups Mr. Lang calls "local animal-named groups"; these latter (from whatever cause) were heterogeneous—each one contained what later became different totem groups; to secure peaceful betrothals one local group made connubium with its neighbor, and these two became phratries of a local tribe; the two phratries would at first probably contain the same names, but as intertotemic marriage was not allowed, this arrangement of clans within the phratries was changed so that the same totem should not occur in both phratries. Assuming



that descent was reckoned through the mother, Mr. Lang finds the ground of the prohibition of intertotemic marriage in the fact of kinship; he, like Mr. Darwin, does not think the idea of female kinship too abstract for that stage of society. He adds, however, that the phratry prohibition may be the survival of the old local sobriquet-group prohibition and that the totem prohibition is an "aspect of the perhaps later totem taboo, which extends to marriage within the totem name as well as to the prohibition against killing and eating the totem animal."

These hypotheses, or "guesses," of Professor Haddon and Mr. Lang meet the requirements of the question in so far as they refer the origin of totemism to the action of groups, and as they derive the names from social conditions. But the hypothesis that the names are given from without makes a difficulty. There is no definite historical proof of such a method of naming. The examples of nicknames cited from European and Indian societies are hardly relevant; the customs existing in an English country parish cannot be regarded as authority for very early times; and as to the Indian names, neither their meaning nor their origin is precisely known. In the list of clan names of North American tribes (as, for example, those given by Dr. Boas) there is no sign that totem clans think of their names as anything but native. We lack a full investigation of the meaning and origin of clan names; but in many cases they are derived from names of places, not infrequently they mean simply "people." The case of the Eskimo is sometimes adduced, the term "Eskimo" being applied to these people by adjoining tribes; but the Eskimo know that their true name is "Innuït," and the other, coming from without, they do not acknowledge. It is doubtless true that names are given to people by foreigners, but such foreign designations are not adopted by the people so named; possibly an example of adoption may be found here and there under peculiar circumstances, but such cases would not prove the rule. We call the people of Holland "Dutch," but that name has never been recognized by them.

Mr. Haddon's supposition that every clan is characterized by its connection with a particular sort of food, is, as Mr. Lang observes, too narrow. It is not likely that a group would confine itself to a particular food; the fact appears to be that a clan eats everything within reach. There would indeed be a

general difference of food between coast clans and interior clans; but such difference is not actually indicated in clan names, nor would it in any case account for the great mass of totem designations. Mr. Lang's extension of the field supplies an origin for a greater number of names, but still leaves a considerable number not accounted for.

These two theories, further, hardly explain satisfactorily the intimate relation that exists between a clan and its totem. The supposition is that when a group became definitely associated with an animal or plant, myths would arise to account for the fact, the totem animal would come to be thought of as ancestor and creator, and would be regarded with reverence. But it does not seem likely that the profound totemistic feeling which actually exists could have its origin at so late a period of social development, and could be based on a relation or a name which was imposed on the clan from without. We should naturally go back rather to the earliest conceivable period of human society, when kinship between men and other objects was a natural, or perhaps necessary, element of human thought. It is in favor of this latter view that animal names preponderate among totem designations, although even in hunting tribes the food is very largely vegetable. By this view also, a natural explanation is offered of totemic names taken from inedible things, such as heavenly bodies, natural forces, and inorganic things—sun, moon, wind, thunder; all these might be objects of reverence in early times, might be regarded as persons, and supposed to stand in near relation to the group. A religious element would seem to be involved in the beginnings of totemism. While the economic and other sociological conditions are important, it would be a mistake to ignore that attitude of the savage toward nature which develops into religion.

There are other points in which Mr. Lang's theory appears not to be adequate. It accounts for early organization in phratries (a widely diffused system), but it does not explain why, when the connubium is established between two phratries, phratry exogamy is obligatory and not merely permissible. It is observed by Mr. N. W. Thomas (in *Man*, January, 1904) that Mr. Lang, in agreeing that the local animal-named group did not develop totemism, tacitly concedes that the animal name alone is not adequate to produce the totemistic organization.

Finally may be mentioned theories that derive totemism from some sort of clan-mark. Professor F. Max Müller (in his *Contrib. to the Science of Mythol.*, i. 198 ff.) suggests that a totem was originally a tribal emblem, the figure of an animal or other object set up in front of a settlement as a sort of heraldic device—in time the object so represented would come to be regarded as a leader and finally as an ancestor and therefore as sacred—and the tribe would abstain from using it as an article of food. Apparently of a similar character is the hypothesis stated in the article “Der Ursprung des Totemismus” (in *Jahrb. f. Vergleich. Rechtswissenschaft*, 1902).<sup>1</sup> Apart from the fact that totemism is often found without the clan-mark, the defect of such theories is that they do not satisfactorily account for the intimate relation existing between the clan and the totem. This relation can hardly have been based on the accidental choice of an animal or other objects as the emblem or mark of the clan, but must rest originally on a conviction of the existence of kinship between human and other groups of objects.

This brief survey of theories of the origin of totemism suggests a number of questions which can only be mentioned here. Is exogamy prior to the totemistic organization? Is the adoption of a tutelary animal later than totemism? and does it represent a higher conception of the relation between man and the powers about him? Is a process of evolution in totemism going on continually, involving disintegration or dissolution or modification? What is the social and religious effect of the constant shifting of tribal organizations which is said to be going on in America and elsewhere? Can we speak of a totemistic cult? and is it true that a totemistic animal or plant has ever developed into a god?

These and other related questions yet await full examination. Take, for example, existing views of the origin of clan exogamy. This has been explained as an extension of family feeling: a natural instinct, it is said, opposes the intermarriage of members of the same household, and, when the family grew into a clan, the same feeling of repugnance would keep apart the

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<sup>1</sup> This article, to which my attention has recently been called, I have not yet been able to consult.

members of the clan. But this view credits early man with a delicacy of feeling that we have no right to assume, and, in point of fact, marital relations between members of the same family are found even in civilized communities (Egyptians, Hebrews), to say nothing of savage tribes. A modification of this theory represents the repugnance to interfamilial marriage or inter-clan marriage as due to the dread felt by men of the sacred or magical influences or qualities of women. Mr. Crawley, who has presented this view (in his *Mystic Rose*) at great length and with great ability, supposes that the line of demarcation between the two sexes was first drawn by the difference of their industrial occupations; this difference kept them apart in actual life, so that each sex seemed strange to the other, and, as to the savage the strange is dangerous, women were esteemed by men a source of danger, and taboos were imposed on them; this feeling of antagonism naturally was directed especially against members of the same family, and as men had to have wives, these had to be sought outside the family, and thus the rule of exogamy was gradually established. This theory is based on well-known facts, but it hardly accounts satisfactorily for exogamy. It has been urged (by Durkheim, *Folk-Lore*, 14, 423) that the antagonism between the sexes, as explained by Crawley, should be mutual; but it appears that it is chiefly the men who are afraid of the women, and it is by men that the taboos are imposed. This objection, however, does not seem important when it is remembered that the control of society, in the lowest strata known to us, is in the hands of men—the opinion of women is not formulated. A more serious objection lies in the doubt whether the cause assigned is sufficient to account for the fact. In savage societies the relations between the sexes, except where they are controlled by marriage-laws, are free to the point of license—there is no sign of mutual dread, nor do the customs and laws, as a rule, undertake to regulate inter-sexual relations except in the case of marriage. While, therefore, Mr. Crawley's elucidations of inter-sexual taboos are valuable, we must look elsewhere for the origin of the rule of exogamy. Mr. Lang's view (given in *Man*, Dec. 1903) is stated above, with the objections which have been made to it. None of these explanations has proved generally acceptable, and the question must be regarded as still undecided.

The above survey shows sufficiently the divergencies of opinion among competent writers on the origin of totemism. When the known phenomena are so differently interpreted, the inference can only be that data are lacking to establish a satisfactory theory. The discussions of the subject turn largely on the nature and genesis of primitive social groups, a point on which we do not find unanimity among either sociologists or students of the history of religion. Is the phratry, for example, earlier or later than the clan? advocates of both views are to be found, and the question cannot be said to be decided. Yet, until this point and others of a similar character are settled, we cannot hope to make progress in the investigation of totemism. What is needed, therefore, is a more thorough inquiry into the nature of early social organizations. The inquiry should take the form of collecting all accessible facts, and setting forth the actual existing state of things. There is, of course, no objection to hypothetical constructions of prehistoric conditions; but such constructions must depend mainly on present facts, and the first duty is to gather and arrange these facts. All human customs, so far as we know, are social and communal. Even where men wander about in small isolated groups (as is said to be the case with the Fuegians and a few other peoples), it is clear that the usages are not peculiar to the detached groups, but have the support and sanction of a larger community. The social constitution of all known groups, large and small, bears the marks of hoary antiquity. The widest possible comparison of phenomena is necessary in order that we may penetrate behind the veil that divides the present from the past.

This study of early group-life is not the only thing necessary for the elucidation of totemism—this latter presents a very peculiar phase of social organization. It is now generally recognized that totemism is only one form of a widely diffused cult of natural objects, which embraces many varieties. These latter shade into one another in various details, some of them seeming to approach totemism, others standing at a great remove from it. There is particularly the class of tutelary spirits or animals, referred to above; these are connected sometimes with the individual, sometimes with the family, sometimes with a larger group. The known examples of all such cults and rela-

tions should be collected and arranged both according to distinctness of relation between man and natural object, and according to geographical distribution. A particular point to be had in mind is the relation between totem animals and various animal gods that appear in later stages of society.

Other points connected with totemism would present themselves in the course of such an investigation. The sacramental eating of the totem animal has been made, as we know, the basis of large theories of sacrifice. Many examples of solemn eating of an animal are found among low tribes, and it is desirable that all such instances should be brought together and compared with the more obvious cases of sacramental feasting. The nature of magic-societies and of secret societies in general must be investigated. Finally, especial attention should be paid to the phenomena connected with the dissolution or decadence of totemism; it is sometimes in the struggle to maintain life and in the pangs of dissolution that we can discover the essential nature of a custom or an institution.

*Differences between Tagalog and Bisayan.*—By Dr. FRANK R. BLAKE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Of the large number of languages which are spoken in the Philippine Islands, the two most important are without doubt Tagalog and Bisayan. Tagalog is the language of perhaps the most highly cultivated tribe in the Archipelago, and is spoken in the capital city of Manila, throughout middle Luzon, and on the coasts of Mindoro and some of the smaller islands south of Luzon. Bisayan in its various dialects, Cebuano, Panayan, Hiligayna, Samaro-Leytean, etc., forms the language of the Bisayan Islands, and of the north and east coasts of Mindanao, and is spoken by more people than any other Philippine dialect.

As is the case with all the languages of the Archipelago, these two idioms belong to the same family of speech, the Malayo-Polynesian, and the relation subsisting between them is very close and intimate. The two languages present the same general grammatical characteristics.

1) Roots are for the most part dissyllabic, e. g. Tag. *gawá* 'do,' *salat* 'write,' *káin* 'eat;' Bis. *buhut* 'do,' *salut* 'write,' *kaon* 'eat.'

2) Derivation is accomplished:

(a) By means of various formative prefixes, infixes and suffixes, which are in a large number of cases identical in the two languages, e. g. active verbal prefixes *mag*, *man*, *pa*, *ma*, *maka*, *mappa*, *maki*; active verbal prefix and infix *um*; the common passive particles, prefixed *i*, and suffixed *an*; the nominal prefixes, *ka*, *pala*, *tagu*; the adjectival prefix *ma*, etc.

(b) By various forms of reduplication; a diminutive meaning is imparted to adjectives in both languages by reduplicating the root, e. g. Tag. *ma-itim-itim* 'rather black,' from *ma-itim*; 'black;' Bis. *ma-itom-itom* from *ma-itom*; complete reduplica-

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<sup>1</sup> As the accentuation of Bisayan words varies greatly according to the place in which the language is spoken (cf. Encarnación, *Diccionario Bisaya-Español*, 3<sup>a</sup> ed., Manila, 1885, Advertencias Preliminares II), the Bisayan words in this paper are given without accent marks, except in certain dialectic forms.



tion of a noun often imparts the idea of 'every,' e. g. Tag. *adawádaw* 'every day' from *ádaw* 'day;' Bis. *adlawadlaw* from *adlaw*.

3) Inflection strictly speaking is confined to the pronouns.

4) The verb has usually the passive form, the object of the action or some accessory circumstance of the action being made the subject; e. g. the sentence 'Cain killed Abel' would be rendered by 'Abel was killed by Cain,' Tag. *si Abel ay pinatáy ni Cain*. The active is employed only when the agent of the action is specially emphasized, or when the object of the action is something indefinite, e. g. 'he killed a man,' Tag. *siyá'y pungmatáy nang táwo*.<sup>2</sup> In other words the most important or most emphatic element in the sentence is made the subject, and the verb put in the form required by that subject.

5) An extensive use is made of certain particles, Tag. *-ng, na*; Bis. *-ng, nã* to connect the parts of speech which modify each other, such as nouns and adjectives, adjectives and adverbs, verbs and adverbs, etc.; e. g. 'good man' is in Tagalog *mabáti-ng táwo*, in Bisayan, *maayo-ng tao* or *maayo nã tao*; 'larger, more large' is in Tagalog *lalo-ng malakí*, in Bisayan *labi-ng dako*.<sup>3</sup>

The two languages then are as closely related perhaps as Spanish and Italian or German and Dutch, but there are a number of important differences between them.

In the first place the two vocabularies, while possessing a large stock of common material, differ in many particulars. This is true not only in the case of presentive words, i. e. nouns,

<sup>1</sup> This *q̣* is used to represent the Tagalog *r*, which is derived from intervocalic *d*, and is, according to the Spanish grammarians, a sound between *d* and *r*.

<sup>2</sup> With this prevalence of passive construction is to be contrasted the use of the passive in Arabic. Here, if the agent is expressed, the construction must be active, e. g. قاتل قابيل هابيل *qatalu qāṭinu hābīla* 'Cain killed Abel.' The passive form can be used only when the agent is understood, thus being a variety of intransitive verb (cf. my paper on the *Internal Passive in Semitic*. JAOS., vol. xxii, p. 45) e. g. قاتل الرجل *qutīla 'rrajulu* 'the man was killed.'

<sup>3</sup> Compare the use of the *izāfet* in modern Persian; 'pure water' is not simply آب پاک *āb pāk*, but آبِ پاک *āb-i pāk* with a connective particle *i* between *āb* 'water' and *pāk* 'pure.' Cf. Salemann u. Shukovski, *Persische Grammatik*, Berlin, 1889, p. 30, § 16.

adjectives, and verbs, where, especially in nouns, we find different words for the same idea even in the most closely related languages and dialects,<sup>1</sup> but also in that of symbolic words, *i. e.* pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbial particles.

In Tagalog the word for 'shirt,' which constitutes about one-half of the ordinary civilized male Filipino's costume, the garment being worn with its tails or skirts hanging down over the other half, the trousers, is *bádo*; in Bisayan it is *sinina*; the common adjectives 'good' and 'bad' are in Tagalog *mabúti* and *matsamâ*, in Bisayan *maayo* and *dautan*; the ordinary verb 'do, make' is in Tagalog *g-um-awd*, in Bisayan *mag-buhat*.

With regard to symbolic words, it is to be noted that the demonstrative pronouns, and in the case of the Cebuan dialect the interrogative pronouns, are different, *e. g.* 'this' is in Tagalog *yari* or *itô*, in Bisayan *kini* or *sini* according to the dialect; 'who' is in Tagalog *sino*, in Cebuan Bisayan *kinsa*. The conjunction 'and' is in Tagalog *at*, in Cebuan *ug*, in the Panayan and Hiligayna dialects *kag*, probably a contraction of the two particles *ka* and *ug*.

The sounds employed by the two languages are practically the same, and cognate words are usually identical. A Tagalog *i*, however, is frequently represented by a Bisayan *u* or *o*, *e. g.* the word for 'one' is in Tagalog *isâ*, in Bisayan *usa*; 'black' is in Tagalog *maitim*, in Bisayan *maitom*; 'to hear' is in Tagalog *dinîg*, in Bisayan *dunîg*; the passive particle Tagalog *in* appears in Bisayan as *un* or *on*.

An original intervocalic *l* which is preserved in Bisayan is often lost in Tagalog,<sup>2</sup> compare Tagalog *daan* 'road' with Bisayan, Bikol, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Ilokan, Ibanag, etc., *dalan*. Sometimes a secondary consonant is developed between the two vowels after the loss of the *l*, *e. g.* Tagalog *bâhay* 'house,' *pôwo* 'ten' = Bisayan *balay, polo*.

Morphological differences between the two languages, although not very numerous, are strongly marked. The definite article and the demonstratives have in Tagalog three cases, a nominative, genitive, and oblique, *e. g.* the article is declined *ang, nang, sa*; the demonstrative 'this,' *itô, nitô, dito*: in Bisayan,

<sup>1</sup> Compare American 'shoes' with English 'boots,' 'baggage' with 'luggage,' 'satchel' with 'bag,' 'shirt-waist' with 'wash-body,' etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brandstetter, *Tagalen und Madagassen*, Luzern, 1902, p. 41 f.

these pronouns have in general only two cases, a nominative, and an oblique which includes all other cases, e. g. in Cebuan the article is declined *ang*, *sa*, the demonstrative 'this,' *kini*, *niini*. In Hiligayna, however, the article has three cases, nominative *ang*, genitive *sang*, oblique *sa*.

In Tagalog the personal pronoun *kitá* is the dual of the first person meaning 'we two;' in Bisayan it is regularly the plural 'we' which includes the person addressed, and which would be used for example when a Spaniard says 'we Spaniards' in addressing his fellow-countrymen, but not if he used the same expression in speaking to Filipinos. In this case another pronoun, *kami*, must be employed. In Cebuan *kitá* means 'you' (dual) and *kita*, 'you' (pl.).

In Tagalog the tens, 'twenty,' 'thirty,' 'forty,' etc., are formed by multiplication of 'ten,' *pówo*, viz. 'two tens,' 'three tens,' etc., e. g. *dalawá-ng pówo*, *tatló-ng pówo*, etc. In Bisayan, although the above mode of formation is found, especially in Hiligayna, the tens are regularly made from the units by prefixing *ka* and suffixing *an*, which is one of the most usual ways of forming abstract nouns in Tagalog: e. g. 'twenty' is *ka-luha-an* from *duha* 'two,' *l* and *l* interchanging as in Latin *lacruma* and *dacruma* 'tear,' 'thirty' is *ka-tlo-an* from *tolo* 'three,' etc.<sup>1</sup>

In Tagalog the future and present active of a verb with the prefixed monosyllabic particle *mag*, e. g. *maglaḡḡ* 'play' from the root *laḡḡ*, are made by reduplicating the first syllable of the root, *m* of the particle becoming *n* in the present, e. g. future *maglalaḡḡ*, present *ndglalaḡḡ*. In Bisayan, although

<sup>1</sup> E. g. *ka-bandil-an* 'virtue' from *bandil*, *ka-lakás-an* 'strength' from *lakás*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss der Vergl. Gram. d. Indogerm. Sprachen*, 2te Bearb., Bd. 1, 1te Hälfte, § 537, p. 533; 1te Bearb., § 369, p. 282; Eng. ed. vol. i, § 369, p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> With these abstract formations may be compared the Indo-European words for 100, Latin *centum*, Greek *é-katón*, which stand for original *dekmtóm*, an abstract derivative with suffix *-to* from *dekḡ* 'ten' meaning 'ten-hood.' Cf. Brugmann, *op. cit.*, Bd. 2, 2te Hälfte, § 164, p. 464; § 179, p. 501; Eng. ed. vol. iii, § 131, p. 2 f.; § 179, p. 42. Similarly the tens in Semitic are expressed by the plural of the units, plural and abstract ideas being closely connected. Cf. Zimmern, *Vergl. Gram. d. Sem. Sprachen*, Berlin, 1898, p. 182.

this formation occurs in the Hiligayna dialect, the most usual and characteristic mode of forming these tenses is by adding an *a* after the particle *mag*, changing the *m* to *n* in the present, e. g. from *mag-buhat* 'do, make' are formed the future *maga-buhat* and present *nagabuhāt*. This formation seems to have originated in roots with initial *a*, as e. g. *asawa* 'spouse.' The verb made by combining this root with the verbal particle *mag* has the same tense stems in both languages, viz. Inf. *magasawa*, Pret. *nagasawa*, Fut. *magaasawa* and Pres. *nagaasawa*, the double *a* in future and present being due to the reduplication of the first syllable *a* of the root *asawa*. In Bisayan, however, the first *a* was regarded as belonging to the verbal particle, *maga* and *naga* being considered the particles of the future and present respectively. Therefore from a root with initial consonant like *buhat* 'do make,' was formed the future *maga-buhat*, and the present *naga-buhat*.<sup>1</sup>

Many classes of verbs in Bisayan, especially in the Cebuan dialect, have only two tense forms, there being no distinction between infinitive and future, and between preterite and present respectively, e. g. the root *lohod* 'kneel' combined with the particle *nan* makes *nan-lohod* infinitive and future, and *nan-lohod* preterite and present. In Tagalog, on the other hand, four tense stems are distinguished in all the verbal classes.

The preterite passive of Tagalog verbs is characterized by a particle *in* which is infixed in roots or stems with initial consonant, and prefixed to a root with initial vowel, e. g. *g-in-awá* from *gawá* 'do, make,' *inádal* from *ádal* 'teach.' In Bisayan, instead of this *in*, a prefix *gi* or *gin* is regularly employed, e. g. from *buhat* 'do, make' is formed the preterite, Cebuan *gibuhāt*, Panayan and Hiligayna *ginbuhāt*. Forms with *in* (e. g. *b-in-uhāt*) like the Tagalog forms, however, also occur, especially in the Panayan and Hiligayna dialects.

<sup>1</sup> Similar instances of such a wrong division of words are English 'an orange' for 'a norange' (Spanish *naranja*), 'an adder' for 'a nadder' (German *Natter*); cf. Giles, *Manual of Compar. Philol.*, 2d ed., London, 1901, p. 207 f.; and the German suffix *-keit*, which was formed in the middle German period by the 'clipping' of the final *k* sound of adjectives in *-ec*, e. g. *miltēc-heit* > *miltēkeit*, *-keit* being then used to derive many words not ending in a *k* sound, e. g. *bitter-keit*; cf. Willmanns, *Deutsche Gram.*, Strassburg, 1893-96, 2te. Abt., § 290.

In the domain of syntax the following are the most important differences. In Tagalog a cardinal numeral is regularly joined to the noun which it modifies by the connective particle or ligature *-ng*, *na*, e. g. *dalawá-ng táwo* 'two men,' *apat na libro* 'four books.' In Bisayan no ligature is employed in this case, the noun instead taking the prefix *ka* which denotes 'one, single, individual,' e. g. *duha ka-tao*, *upat ka-libro*. This construction of cardinal numeral adjective with a noun derived with the prefix *ka* of individuality occurs also in Tagalog, e. g. *isá ka-táwo* 'one man,' *dalawá ka-pótol* 'two pieces,' but it is far less common than the construction with the ligature.

In Tagalog the ligature is regularly employed to join an infinitive to a governing verb ending in a vowel, or, when one or more words are inserted between governing verb and infinitive, to join the infinitive to the word directly preceding, e. g. *akó'y tungmakbó-ng umalis* 'I hastened to go,' *madúnung ka-ny sumálat* 'do you know how to write?', where the infinitives *umalis* and *sumálat* are joined to the preceding word by the ligature *-ng*. In Bisayan, as a usual thing, no ligature is used before a dependent infinitive in this case, e. g. *kinsa'y nahagugma pumalit sa kabayo* 'who wants to buy the horse?', *brut ka ba uminom bisan onsa* 'do you wish to drink anything?', where no ligature is employed before the infinitives *pumalit* and *uminom*.

In Tagalog the particle *ay*<sup>1</sup> is regularly used between subject and predicate when the subject precedes, e. g. *akó ay (akó'y) sungmasúlat* 'I am writing.' In Bisayan in this case, although *y* may be used after a subject ending in a vowel, e. g. *si Pedro'y mahuluyon* 'Pedro is merciful,' it is regularly omitted, e. g. *ang ia-ng balay dako* 'his house is large,' *ako nagasulat* 'I am writing.'

The particle *y* is employed in Bisayan in some constructions where the ligature is used in Tagalog. In the latter language a definite noun following an interrogative pronoun is preceded either by the article *ang* or the ligature *-ng*, e. g. *anó ang (anó-ng) ginawá mo* 'what did you do?' In Bisayan the article may be replaced, not by the ligature, but by the particle *y*, e. g. Cebuan *onsa ba ang (onsa'y) gibuhát mo* 'what did you do?' The

<sup>1</sup> Probably of pronominal origin, cf. my paper on *Analogies between Semitic and Tagalog*, JHU. Circ. No. 163, p. 66.

interrogative particle *ba* is regularly employed in Cebuan in connection with an interrogative followed by the article, less frequently with *y*. In Tagalog also the equivalent particles *bagá* or *kayá* may be used in connection with an interrogative pronoun, e. g. *anó bagá ang (anó bagá-ny) ginawá mo*.

Bisayan *y* corresponds in its use to the Tagalog ligature also in the constructions which express the ideas of the possession and non-possession of something indefinite.<sup>1</sup> In Tagalog the particles *may* and *walá* are employed for this purpose, in Bisayan, usually *may*, *aduna* and *wala*, *walá* and *wala* being the negative of the other particles. The thing possessed stands after the particle without article. The possessor is in Tagalog always put in the nominative; in Bisayan it may stand in the nominative, or it may be expressed by a possessive adjective modifying the thing possessed or object of the particle, and joined to it by the ligature. The ligature in Tagalog and the particle *y* in Bisayan are added, in most of these constructions, to the word that immediately precedes the object, which may consist of a single word or a word and its modifiers, e. g.

Tagalog: *may salapí akó* }  
*may akó-ny salapí* } 'I have money.'  
*akó'y walá-ny salapí* }  
*walá akó-ny salapí* } 'I have no money.'

Bisayan: *may bino akó* (nom.) }  
*may ako-ny* (poss. adj.) *bino* } 'I have wine.'  
*duna'y amo-ny* (poss. adj.) *tiempo* 'we have time.'  
*duna ba kamo* (nom.) 'y *tiempo* 'have you time?'  
*wala'y ila-ny* (poss. adj.) *tiempo* 'they have no time.'  
*wala kamo* (nom.) 'y *tiempo* 'we have no time.'

In Tagalog the indefinite character of the object of an action, as e. g. the words 'some water' in the sentence 'take some water,' is expressed by putting the verb in the active with its object preceded by the genitive of the definite article, which has here of course no definite meaning, but simply denotes the case, e. g. *kumúha ka nang túbig*. 'Take the water' (definite) would be expressed by the passive, viz. *kinúha mo ang túbig*. In Bisayan, what might be called an indefinite accusative par-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my paper cited above, *loc. cit.*



ticle has been developed, which is used instead of the case form of the article before the indefinite object of an active verb, e. g. the above sentence 'take some water' would be rendered by *kumuha ka ug tubig* or *kumuha ka sing tubig*, *ug* being the indefinite particle in Cebuan, *sing* in the Panayan and Hiligayna dialects.

This indefinite particle is also employed before the indirect object of a passive verb, e. g. *ibuhát mó ako ug (sing) kape* 'make me some coffee (*lit.* let me be made for by thee with respect to coffee),' where Tagalog uses the definite article, e. g. *ibili mó ang bátà nang kárin* 'buy the boy some food (*lit.* let the boy be bought for by thee with respect to food);' and also before an adverb which stands after the verb it modifies, e. g. *nakapamolong ba kumi ug maayo* 'do we speak well?,' *siya nagasulat ug (sing) maayo* 'he writes well,' where Tagalog employs the genitive of the definite article or the ligature, e. g. *hampásin mó siyá nang malakás* 'beat him soundly,' *itó'y gaw-ín ninyó-ng mahúsay* 'do this well.'

In the Hiligayna dialect the particle *sing* is often employed before the indefinite object of the negatives *wala*, *wa* 'have not, there is not,' instead of *y* (cf. above), e. g. *wala na sing bato sa bukid* 'there are no stones on the mountain,' *wala kami sing humay* 'we have no rice;' where in Tagalog the ligature is employed, viz. *walá-ng bató sa bundók*, *walá kami-ng pálay*.

The two principal languages of the Philippine Islands, therefore, while perhaps more closely related than any other two of the important languages of the Archipelago, present a number of differences in vocabulary, phonology, morphology, and syntax. The difference in vocabulary is found not only in the case of presentive, but also in that of symbolic words; phonetic changes are few; morphological differences concern chiefly the verb, but also occur in the pronouns and numerals. In the syntax we find the differences principally in the use of various particles, especially the ligature and the particle *ay*, *y*, and in the expression of the indefinite object of an action. In general, the Hiligayna and Panayan dialects show more resemblance to Tagalog than does the Cebuan.



*Some Minor Languages of Luzon.*—By 1st Lieutenant WILLIAM E. W. MACKINLAY, 1st Cavalry, U. S. A., Washington, D. C.

It is not contemplated here to give more than a sketch of some of the minor languages of Luzon, with only a mention of others. The field is so extensive that an article could well be devoted to each of the five civilized non-Tagalog tongues, and another to the dialects of the uncivilized tribes of the north.

The first language to which attention is invited is the Ilocano. Spoken by the most industrious, reliable and promising race in the Philippines, as far as the lower classes are concerned, it bears in its structure and vocabulary, even to its intonation and accent, the hallmark of the people who speak it. It is the only language of the Philippines which has been carried beyond its original habitat within historic times, and bids fair to supplant Pangasinán, its neighbor to the south, as it has already displaced Ibanag in parts of the provinces of Cagayán and Isabela. This spreading has all been due to the working classes, known as the "tao" class to Americans and in Ilocano as "cailian," or tribute-payers, in contradistinction to the Spanish-speaking, indolent upper class, who call themselves the "babacnang" (nobility), and who are known to Americans as the "principalia," and less politely as the "shoe-hombres." Of the working classes, nearly one thousand have enlisted in the Philippine Scouts, which organization is a part of the United States Army, and several hundred more have been enrolled in the Constabulary or Military Police of the Archipelago. The Ilocanos make good, steady, reliable soldiers, and like all the natives of the Islands are clean, obedient, and brave when properly led. Some few of the wild tribes adjoining the Ilocanos on the east have also been enlisted and mixed with Ilocanos. These soldiers are mainly serving in the Tagalog region, and compose thirteen companies, numbered from the 12th to the 24th. Their officers are Americans, except Lt. Patajo, Ilocano. There are five Ilocano provincial governors, while in the two mountain provinces, where the Ilocanos form the town population and the Igorrotes

the country people, American governors have been chosen. Outlaw bands are unknown in the Ilocano region, and if the common people are let alone by upper class agitators, who live by their wits, there will be no serious disturbances reported from the Ilocan provinces. The history of the recent outbreak at Vigan, due to Tagalog intrigue, represented by Artemio Ricarte, confirms this assertion.

Philologically, the Ilocano tongue seems nearest to Pangasinán, which in its turn is closely allied to Pampango, adjoining it on the south. It has also a certain affinity with Ibanag, spoken on the Rio Grande de Cagayán, known anciently as the Banag. There is a much greater resemblance between these four languages than any has with Tagalog, although Pampango has borrowed many words from its more vigorous southern neighbor. As with all the Philippine tongues, "e" and "i," and "o" and "u" are almost interchangeable in Ilocano, although "i" and "o" seem to be preferred. The native consonants are: b, d, hard g, hard c, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, na (w), and consonant y, together with the peculiar guttural-nasal ng. It does not exist in true Ilocano words. Other sounds, such as ch, f, h, and v, have been taken from Spanish, and now the school-children are struggling with the sounds, difficult to them, of short e, the two sounds of th, sh, and others which they encounter in the English now being taught.

A striking characteristic of Ilocano is the prevalence of t and d, and the absence of the euphonic system of ties with ng, which makes Tagalog so harmonious. Some expressions will show this clearly: "Good morning," Iloc. "Naimbag a aldao;" Tag. "Magandang arao." "What is your name," Iloc. "Asin ti nagan mo?" Tag. "Sino ang pangalan mo?" Bicol. "Si isay an gnaran mo?" "Asin" is used only for persons; for animals and things "ania" is used: e. g., "ania ti nagan ti asom": "what do you call the dog?"

Ilocano has received little or no study from philologists of note. Isabelo de los Reyes, an Ilocano, did some good work upon the language prior to 1896, but since that time has devoted his attention to political agitation. For some time he published a paper in Manila called "El Ilocano." There is practically no literature except a few romances of the class banished from European literature by Don Quijote, and some lives of saints

published by the Augustine friars. This order was in charge of the Ilocano provinces from 1575 to 1898, and the two current grammars of the language are by members of that order. A small English-Ilocano vocabulary was published for the use of the schools by Wm. Edmonds of Laoag, Ilocos Norte, in 1902, and it is understood that he is now working upon an English-Ilocano grammar and dictionary.

The Ilocano-speaking population cannot be far from 400,000. Of these, twenty-five thousand may be able to understand a little Spanish, and a couple of thousand of the younger ones a little English. This however, is so little, that the upper Spanish-speaking aristocracy, numbering possibly 5000 in all, have the lower classes practically at their mercy, especially in regulating the communication between them and the American rulers. The result can be imagined.

The Ilocano region embraces the provinces of Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, and Union. Ilocano is the town language in Abra, Lepanto-Bontoc and Benguet, a large part of Pangasinán and Zambales, and parts of Cagayán and Isabela. The two latter regions are separated from the other by the mountain tribes of the extreme north of Luzon, known as Apayaos, Adangs, Tinguianes, Guinaanes, and Igorrotes.

The language of many of these mountain tribes, especially that of the Adangs, Apayaos and Tinguianes, seems to differ little from Ilocano.

So little has ever been written about these tongues from actual observation that much discussion would be unprofitable, if not misleading. These tribes include perhaps from fifty to seventy-five thousand inhabitants, but the new census may give better statistics to work upon. The Guinaanes and some of the Igorrotes are wild and ferocious, but a tribe allied in language to the former, the Tinguianes, has settled in Abra and is quite pacific. The tribe numbers about 10,000, and it is the impression of those who have seen both, that they are closely related to the Apayaos of Ilocos Norte. Many Tinguian words are the same as those in Ilocano, and even the manner of forming the verbal tenses is the same. These observations upon the Tinguianes are at first hand.

Ibanag, meaning the dwellers upon the Banag, is quite closely related to Ilocano, but differs from all other civilized tongues of Luzon in possessing both *f* and *v*. "Fulan" is "moon," con-

trasting with "bulan" in the other languages of the group and Bicol, and with "bouan" in Tagalog. "Vagui" is "brother" (or sister), being quite different from Tag. "capatid," Iloc. "cabsat," and Bicol "tugan." "Good morning" is "mapia n'a umma" and singular to say, "mapia" is "good" in the Maguin-danao-Moro of Mindanao. No such form occurs in the languages between. It may be that this word was learned from a Moro band which was sent to Cagayán many years ago, and has returned to the south since the American occupation. "House" is "balay," practically the same as the corresponding word in Pangasinán, Ilocano, Pampango and mountain Bicol. The low-land Bicol uses the word "harong." The Tag. is "báhay." "Danum" is water in all the Northern dialects, "tábig" in Tag., Bicol, and Bisay. This shortens to "ig" in Mindanao Moro, and changes to "äyer" in Malay. But in Malagasy it is "ranu," and it is "wai" in various Polynesian dialects. "Egg" is "iluc" in Tag.; in Iloc. and Bis., "itlog;" in Pamp. "ibon;" in Bicol "sugoc." "Ibon" is "bird" in Tag., and a fowl is "manuc" everywhere in Luzon. "Manuc" is a bird in Malay, while a fowl is "ayam." This is the Bicol word for dog, while among the Tinguianes the term means any household animal tied under the house.

There are two Cagayán companies, the 25th and 26th. The race numbers over 100,000.

Pangasinán is spoken only in a part of that province and Zambales. It is constantly losing ground before the more vigorous Ilocano. No companies of this race are recruited for the service. Natives of other races claim that this tongue is the most difficult to speak in the Archipelago. It abounds in words terminating in "d." There may be 200,000 of this race.

Pampango is spoken in the province of Pampanga and part of Tarlac. It is distinguished by the substitution of "u" where Tag. has "o." The Macabebes, who have a settlement of some 20,000 in Pampanga, speak this language, with a curious Japanese intonation, and some Japanese words. Thus, "Nan nu?" "what is it?" is utterly unlike the Tag. "Ano?," and is like the Nagasaki dialect, in which this phrase is "Nan no?" clearly different from Tokio "Nan desu ka?" This is undoubtedly due to the settlement of Japanese Christians between 1650 and 1700 in Pampanga, still shown in the oblique Macabebe eye. It would be hard to distinguish a Macabebe and a Japanese

company, if dressed alike. This is a personal observation at first hand.

The 1st to 11th Companies of Scouts are Macabebes, and have done gallant service. The men are dashing, brave and clean, and will follow their officers anywhere. All the officers are Americans.

Tagalog, spoken by nearly a million and a half people in Manila and the eight provinces adjacent thereto, as well as in several islands and parts of provinces, differs much from the other languages of Luzon, and seems in many ways to be more allied to Joloano Moro than to any other tongue of the Philippines. It is more euphonic, and has changed primitive "r" to "l" in many cases, probably on account of the large admixture of Chinese blood for the last five or six centuries. For example, the word "daraga," which means a girl in several dialects, is "dalaga" in Tag. Similarly, the Arabic word "surat," meaning a writing in the Philippines, has been changed to "sulat," in Tag.

Only three Tagalog companies have been enlisted, the well known instability of the race preventing the arming of a very large number. These three companies, however, have been carefully selected, and have done well.

The Bicol tongue, which is spoken by over 300,000 people in the three southern provinces of Luzon, Ambos Camarines, Albay, and Sorsogon, is but the most northern dialect of Bisayan. The people were known in ancient times as the Ibalones, and now take their names from the river Bicol. They are a quiet, peaceful people as a rule, and have two companies in the Scouts. There are two well defined dialects; that spoken in the lowland districts, and that spoken in the hill country around Mt. Isarog, Mt. Iriga, Mt. Buhi, and the great volcano of Mayon. Only one sentence will be here given of Bicol. "Good morning" is "marahay na aldao," and it will be seen at a glance that it is the same as the Bisayan "ma-ayon adlao." Two Spanish grammars exist of Bicol, and the writer has almost completed an English-Bicol vocabulary and phrase book.

Bisayan<sup>1</sup> will not be touched upon in this article, nor the many dialects of Mindanao and Joló.

<sup>1</sup> Bisayan is officially spelled Visayan in the government service in the Philippines, after the Spanish custom. The natives pronounce the initial as a *b*.

*On Sanskrit l=Avestan d.*—By Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York City.

THE interchange of a *d*-sound with an *l*-sound, though not generally common, is a well-known phonetic phenomenon; e. g. Lat. *lacrima* for older *dacrima*, Gk. *δάκρυ*, O. Bret. *duer*, cf. Brugmann, *Compar. Gram.* i. § 369. In the Indian dialects the alternation between *l* and Sanskrit *ḍ* (cerebral) is quite frequent, although that between *l* and *d* (dental) is less common; see Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* § 194 a, b, and Gray, *Indo-Iranian Phonology* §§ 212a, 258a. In the Iranian family the interchange of dental and liquid consonants is rare, owing to the relative infrequency of *l*-sounds, except in Afghan, where the phenomenon is not unusual; see Geiger, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* i. 2. pp. 208, 209 §§ 3, 4, and Gray, *op. cit.* § 258b. Turning from parallel words within the single families, Indian and Iranian, and drawing comparisons between the two groups with regard to words containing *d* or *l*, we may deduce two or three lexical equations.

One of these instances of *l=d* is Skt. *khola* 'helmet'=Av. *xāōda*, OP. *-xāuda*, NP. *xōd*, *xōī*, noticed by Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.* § 194b. Another is Skt. *lipi* 'writing, inscription'=OP. *dipi* (*op. cit.*). The third, so far as I know, is a new example, for I do not recall its having been previously drawn. This instance is Skt. *lāma* 'tail'=Av. *dāma*. I think we may confidently equate the words *dāma*, *lāma* lexicographically and for the Iranian dialectic equivalents, NP. *dum*, *dumb*, Afgh. *lam*, etc., refer to Geiger in his *Grundriss*, i. 2. p. 208 § 2, p. 210 § 8; Salemann, *ib.* i. 1. p. 266 § 29; Horn, *Np. Etymologie* § 573; but differently Bartholomae, *Studien* ii, 101.



*Notes of a Journey to Persia, I.*—Letters to the Corresponding Secretary, from A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Professor in Columbia University, New York City.

### 1. The Caucasus and Old Legends.

THE CAUCASUS, March 5, 1903.—Early this morning we reached Vladikavkas, and I have been travelling all the forenoon beneath the shadow of the frosty Caucasus, which stands out like a giant barrier against the cloudy sky and is sharply set off by the white plain of snow beneath. Winter here is still in force, but the mountains wear a snowy coat at Vladikavkas almost all the year round. Looking at their frowning heights as we coast along, I can not but think of the old myth of Prometheus which arises vividly before my imagination, and I fancy I can picture the desolate vulture-peak where the Titan benefactor of mankind was doomed to suffer in galling fetters the torment imposed by Zeus. The entire region looks bleak and barren enough just now, and the lonely atmosphere about it is singularly impressive.

Here and there on the plain are large flocks of sheep huddled together in the open spaces of the snow. The rushing streams from the mountains with their hurrying sweep recall to my mind the story of Colchis and the Golden Fleece, for I learned en route that tradition still tells how the shepherds of by-gone days were wont oftentimes to find grains of gold clinging to the new-shorn fleece when they lifted it from the stream, where they had laid it to be washed, because the mountain torrent had left a golden deposit clinging to the wooly strands. The legend, therefore, of the rich reward of the precious metal seems not to be quite forgotten.

### 2. The Fire-Temple at Baku.

BAKU, March 6, 1903.—I reached Baku on the Caspian Sea Thursday, March 6, and in passing through en route for Tiflis, I made inquiry regarding the old-time *Atash-kadah*, or Fire-Temple, at Surakhany near by. On this spot the faithful Guebers since ages past have paid homage to the eternal naphtha



flame that springs from the earth. The place is a goal of hallowed pilgrimage likewise for those in India who hold fire in special reverence. Only a year ago a pilgrim band of Parsis from Hindustan visited the venerated spot. The walls in fact are covered with dedicatory tablets left at various times and inscribed by different hands. The temple is one of the sights for those who may chance to come to Baku, but so far as I could find out it is no longer hallowed by any special religious association, which seems a loss from the standpoint of Zoroastrian tradition; but I hope to gather more on this subject when I return to Baku, and I look forward to taking some photographs of the old shrine and its surroundings, besides those which I have purchased.

*Postscript*, June 13.—On returning to Baku I spent half a day at Surakhany, and was able to complete my notes and take a number of pictures of the temple. The sacred precinct is enclosed by four rather high walls, in the midst of which the fire-shrine stands. It is a square building of brick, stone, and mortar, about twenty feet high, and with sides of like dimensions (the sides actually measure in meters 6.28×6.40). Facing the points of the compass there are four arched doors or entrances, each approached by four steps. Evidences are visible of pipes once used to conduct the oil to the center of the sanctuary. Near the top of the shrine, on the outer side facing the east, I noticed an inscription in the Nagari character, probably written in Marathi, but it was too high and the light at the time so unfavorable that I could not get a good photograph of it. Besides this I counted on the walls that enclose the precinct thirteen other inscriptions. They were generally written on tablets sunk into the plaster over the doors opening into the cells or cloistered chambers around the precinct. The import of the inscriptions so far as I could make them out was an ascription of praise to Fire. Almost all were Indian, and *agnaye namaḥ* (observe *n*) was of frequent occurrence. Only one of the records was in the Arabic script and this contained *ātaš*, the common Persian word for fire. One of the number seemed quite obliterated and illegible. In addition to the total number of fourteen within the walls, there was still another inscription of like character written on the outside of the enclosing wall:

In former times the temple and precinct were in charge of pious ministrants, whose duty it was to guard the sacred flame. The last of these devotees died a number of years ago and the shrine is no longer a center of religious worship. In the march of progress Baku has become the head of the Russian petroleum trade and these hallowed grounds now form part of the premises of a flourishing up-to-date oil company. The holy flame, so long cherished, has been extinguished, lest it should cause an explosion of the adjoining petroleum wells.

### 3. The Yezidis, or so-called Devil-Worshippers, around Tiflis.

TIFLIS, March 7, 1903.—On arriving at Tiflis one is struck immediately by the interesting combination of Orient and Occident. The old town, with its manifold and curious types of life, seems like a meeting ground of East and West. The sheep-coated dweller of the Caucasus crowds against the Armenian, Georgian, Persian, or Kurd, or moves side by side with the European, till one is bewildered by the ever-changing sea of faces. The Caucasian Museum, with its rare collection of material relating to the Caucasus, shows the loving and scholarly care of its director, Dr. Gustav Radde, and well repays a student's careful visit.

In Tiflis, moreover, it has been my pleasant privilege to meet the Rev. John Larsen, who is in charge of the local Swedish mission. From Mr. Larsen I was able to gather some particulars regarding that interesting sect, the Yezidis, or so-called 'Devil-Worshippers,' a people to whose history I had already given some attention in connection with my studies of Zoroaster and the religion of ancient Persia. I mention the memoranda that I made, merely in the hope that other writers may be encouraged to add more to the material which is already accessible in print regarding the representatives of this curious religious persuasion. As Mr. Larsen told me, so far as relates to the religious beliefs of the Yezidis his information rests in a large measure on what he had learned indirectly regarding them, and it must be taken as such; but his knowledge of their manners and customs is based directly upon the acquaintance which he and his wife have had with these people in connection with the missionary work at Tiflis and the vicinity.

In the Caucasus region, so far as my informant had heard, the number of Yezîdîs may be as many as twelve or fifteen thousand. In the district about Tiflis alone there are several hundred of these people. It is largely their custom to dwell in the districts lying outside the towns. The same I believe is true of Erivân and of the territory generally here adjacent.

As to occupation, the Yezîdîs around Tiflis are chiefly engaged in menial work. Their principal employment is to perform scavenger jobs and drudgery tasks for the most part, and they go clad in the meanest rags. The stories that were told me regarding their functions reminded me in some respects of the 'sweeper class' of India; but recent Russian municipal ordinances have led to their duties being taken in part by others, so that their occupations have varied considerably within the last year. In the division of work in the family the husband as a rule works in the town during the day, while the wife carries on the agricultural duties and other charges connected with the household economy at home in the outlying districts. To this home in the suburbs the man returns at night. Despite their impoverished appearance a number of Yezîdîs are said to possess quite a little money, and in this vicinity at least they apparently lead contented lives, for their wants seem certainly to be very meagre.

As to their religion, I am more or less acquainted with the accounts given by Layard, Menant, Spiro, and others; but these I have not at hand of course at the moment, nor have I as yet had access to some of the recent articles on the Yezîdîs, e. g. Anastase in *Al-Machriq*, and notes by Crowfoot, Giamal, and others, in current numbers of English, Italian and French journals. For this reason my notes on the subject are practically only memoranda or comments, which other scholars may supplement, correct, adopt, or reject, according to circumstances.

I have already implied that my interest in the Yezîdîs is chiefly due to associating them in a distant way with certain phases of the old Iranian religion. It is generally recognized and acknowledged that some old reminiscences of the common Iranian faith, or possibly of the ancient pre-Zoroastrian creed, may have lingered down to present times among them, in spite of all the outside influences of Mohamimedanism and of other religious doctrines. One point, for example, which was told me, struck me as being old Iranian. The Yezîdîs are shocked if

one spits upon the earth, because they interpret this as an insult to the devil. But, in my opinion rather, there must lie at the basis of this abhorrence the well-known Zoroastrian prescription, so familiar from the time of Herodotus and Xenophon onward, forbidding the earth in any way to be defiled.

Passing over the familiar material about Malik Taus, I record one or two points which my informant had received from a christianized Mohammedan on the subject of Yezidî beliefs. They are to be taken for what they are worth. The devil, as a fallen angel, is stated to have repented and to have done penance for seven thousand years, and his tears of repentance filled seven vessels which will be used at the Day of Judgment to quench the fire of the seven hells! God's gracious bounty accordingly saw fit to pardon the sinner and restored him to heaven, but the angels were inclined to look askance at their re-instated brother. Whereupon God bade them not to venture to scorn the devil, if he himself had thought right to pardon the penitent miscreant. Accordingly, as is well known, the Yezidîs allow no derogatory allusion to the devil and if the name of *Sheitân* be mentioned in their presence they shrink with horror at the word. All those who have read Layard's account of the Yezidîs will recall his personal experience in this matter. I have often thought that some similar but very distant idea may possibly lie hidden beneath the propitiatory sacrifice which Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, performed according to Herodotus (7. 114) and others. Is it indirectly possible that the *daêva-yasna* or 'devil-worshippers' in the Avesta may have had somewhat kindred notions; and that the Yezidîs may show some surviving traces of the devil-worship in Mazandaran which Zoroaster anathematized so bitterly.

It is not necessary here to add that, owing to the residence of the Yezidîs among the Mahommedans; if for no other reason, the sect naturally has much directly in common with Islam. I have incidentally mentioned the Yezidîs in the Iranian *Grundriss*, ii. 696, for example, in connection with the various religious movements that came more clearly into evidence in Persia as in part the outcome of the Mohammedan conquest. Among the Yezidîs, as an instance, circumcision is known to be practised, but not regularly, and as to sacramental rites Mohammedan priests may officiate at Yezidî weddings and even at their

funerals. Polygamy is apparently not forbidden, but owing to the poverty of the people it is not commonly practised. The Yezīdīs drink wine, yet not in excess, according to the information I was able to gain. Much more information, however, could be given no doubt on such points, and with authority, by the Rev. Mr. McDowell, an American missionary, who has made special researches, I learn, among these people. From him my kind informant had heard that the Yezīdīs are also understood to believe in a father primeval, who lived before Adam and did not fall in sin. If this be so, and I have no books at hand to look further into the matter, the Zoroastrian student will at once recognize a far-off reminiscence of Avestan Gaya-meretan who lived prior to Mashya and Mashyōi, the Iranian Adam and Eve.

Several incidental points were likewise gathered indirectly from information of a Swedish lady, a friend of Mr. and Mrs. Larsen, who had spent some time among the Yezīdīs and had written a short account of her experiences. One point is worth noting; it is the recognition of a sort of ascetic order of women, *fukiriah*, in the Yezīdī community, corresponding evidently to the general idea *fakirs* among men. Curious, but interesting, seemed the statement from the same source, that the Yezīdīs offer one sheep every year to Christ and thirty to the devil! The statements regarding a book of divine revelation, *El-Yelbah*, and its interpretation by Sheikh Ādi (c. A. D. 1200) are known elsewhere and accordingly are not repeated. It is my hope further to continue my inquiries and studies regarding this sect, especially with respect to the Iranian side of their beliefs, which all who have studied the subject have recognized in a general way.

#### 4. Avestan Observations in Azarbaijan.

JULFA, TABRIS, URUMIA, March 14-25, 1903.—The journey by wagon and on horseback through northern Azarbaijan has given an excellent opportunity to study a part of the country which must have been the Avestan Airyana Vaējah, or Ērān Vēj. This was the country where Zoroaster arose, according to the view now more generally accepted. On the way I have had the Vendidad constantly before my mind, for the sights and scenes keep recalling it. Omitting some of the special observations

which I have made in the region, and I hope to publish them later, I shall call attention to two or three incidental matters.

The cold has been intense. With frozen ears and face and suffering from exposure and partial snow blindness, I can understand why the Avesta regarded the winter in Airyana Vaējah as 'the work of demons' (Vd. I. 2 *zyamčā dāvā-dātām*) created to mar this region which otherwise would be a paradise. In Airyana Vaējah according to the Vendidad (I. 3) there were 'ten months winter and two months summer'—*dasa arābra māphō zayana dra haminā*. I could sympathize also with the sufferings of Xenophon's soldiers in the snows among the Carduchi, yonder on the other side of the Kurdistan mountains. One wild ride en route to Urumia I shall not forget. In the mountains near Gūchī I had to abandon the wagon in drifts nearly as high as our heads. Night was falling and the storm was raging. There was nothing to do but to take to the horses' backs. The guide, who had secured me some extra animals, ominously asked where our rifles were. [The awful murder of my friend, Rev. Benjamin W. Labaree and his servant, which has since been perpetrated in this very region, makes the risk of the journey still more real. The Avesta alludes to such bandits and assassins in Zoroaster's time—*tāyu, huzarha, gada*.] For hours we plowed forward through the snow, as best we could, and amid darkness and blinding sleet, until shelter and safety at last were found in the plain. Winter seemed truly the creation of Aūra Mainyu.

On the journey around Lake Urumia, known to Zoroaster as *Ūvēčista*, I made special observations of the country and people, the cattle, sheep, dogs, and birds, so far as they would illustrate the Avesta. The details of these observations, together with my notes on the Ash Mounds around the City of Urumia, will be published in my *Persia Past and Present*. I shall add, however, some remarks here regarding the dogs, who do not enjoy among the Mohammedans the esteem they did among the ancient Zoroastrians.

The dogs are large, resembling the mastiff in size, wolfish in appearance, tawny in color as a rule, and frightfully savage in temper. [I may add now that the dogs in Northern Iran were larger and more ferocious than those in the south, for I took note of them from the Caspian almost to the Persian Gulf and



from Yezd to Bokhara and Samarkand.] In the town of Urumia, so often associated with Zoroaster's name, I saw a good specimen of the 'white dog with yellow ears—*spānəm spaētəm zairi-gaošəm*—which the Vendidad (Vd. 8. 16 etc.) enjoins as one of the two dogs to be used in the *sag-dūl* ceremony of exorcising the spirit of death. The other, 'a yellow dog with four eyes'—*spānəm zairitəm čaθru-čašməm*—that is, with two spots above the eyes, I did not so specifically see, although tawny-colored dogs are common enough. The spots over the eyes are apparently less common, which may account for the value of such dogs in rites of exorcism, and it may be of interest to add that Europeans informed me that the German dachshund loses the tan spots over its eyes after a generation or two in Persia.

##### 5. The Region where Zoroaster probably made his First Convert.

MIANDOAB, March 31, 1903.—My endeavor to determine the position of places connected with scenes in Zoroaster's life has not been perhaps without result. I mention one such identification that seems to me plausible. It is a localization of the probable place where Zoroaster made his first convert, his own cousin, named *Maiðyō-mānsha* in the Avesta, or *Mētyō-nāh* in Pahlavi. We know from tradition that Zoroaster passed much of the earlier part of his life in the region of Lake Urumia (Av. *Čaēdistā*). From times of antiquity the southern shores of this lake have been covered by great tracts of reeds. The map to-day shows a 'Forest of Reeds' some sixty miles in extent on the south. The Pahlavi writings of *Zāt-spāram* (2. 38), in alluding to the incident of the conversion, locates the scene 'in the forest of ready hollows, where is the haunt of the wild-boar species,' as cited and discussed in my *Zoroaster the Prophet*, p. 54, but not then identified; see also West in *SBE.* xlvii. 155. The high road which leads around the lake and towards ancient Ragha (now Rai) near Teheran, where Zoroaster's mother is said to have been born, passes along the edge of what I believe to be this very forest of reeds. I travelled over it by caravan. Near the village of Khor Khorah, between Mahmadyar and Miandoab, the region abounds in hollows and reeds and I saw immense masses of the slender stalks, some of them fifteen or twenty feet high, cut from the 'forest.'



In the region also 'the swine of the wild-boar species' abounds, and the animals are hunted by the natives for sport. They are not eaten, however, by the Mohammedans, to whom the flesh of the hog is forbidden by the Koran, but by the Armenians, who have no such religious scruples in the matter and derive actual advantage from the chase. All the surroundings of the place combine with what we know of Zoroaster's life through traditional literature, the Avesta, Zât-spāman selections, the Zartusht-Nāmah, and other works, to make us fairly certain that this was at least the region to which the Pahlavi passage refers, even if we cannot identify the precise spot. It serves also as another link to connect the beginning of Zoroaster's mission with northwestern Iran.

#### 6. Among the Zoroastrians of Yezd.

YEZD, May 11.—I have had to omit notes from Hamadan, Kermanshah, Behistun [for the latter see now vol. xxiv. 77-95], Isfahan, Persepolis and Shiraz, but I now send a brief memorandum regarding my stay among the Zoroastrians at Yezd. There have been opportunities for conferences with them regarding their beliefs, religious observances, traditions, customs and the like. I have had the privilege of visiting their chief fire-temple to hear the ritual and have learned something of their home life. The results of their experiences will appear in my *Persia Past and Present* when it is published. Meanwhile I must simply call attention to the pronunciation of Avestan by the priests at Yezd. One point particularly struck me; they do not employ spirants,  $\chi$ ,  $\theta$ ,  $\delta$ ,  $\gamma$ , as we generally presume; but use stops or rather aspirates,  $kh$ ,  $ph$ ,  $dh$ ,  $gh$ , etc., as I shall explain hereafter. The plans for the remainder of my journey will carry me to Teheran, the Caspian, Merv, Bokhara, and Samarkand.

*Some Folk-Stories of Rāmdās the Last of the Sages.*—By  
MISS LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, Satara, India.

THE most picturesque figure in Marathi folk-lore is that of Shivaji, the great military chief who broke the power of the Moguls and gave the Hindus back their independence.

Next to him, and enshrined more deeply in the popular affection, stands Rāmdās, Shivaji's Guru or spiritual instructor. The king was a foreigner, often despotic—though that is a small matter to a Hindu—frequently as terrible to his friends as to his foes. But Rāmdās was one of themselves, the ideal holy man, the poet whose verses are still treasured, the founder of a popular religion, the gentle sage who went about doing good, and whose ready wit and keen sense of humor confounded his foes and endeared him to all with whom he came in contact.

The facts of his life are heavily encrusted with legend, the wild legend in which the Hindu mind revels; but some truth can be gathered in tiny scraps.

He was born in a small village near Atit, about eleven miles south of Sātāra, a Brahman of the Deshāsta caste, the younger of two sons. In his childhood, so great was his love for the god Rāma that he refused to go to school, much to his father's disgust, and spent his whole time collecting sacred pebbles and worshipping them. At six or eight years of age the ceremony of investiture with the sacred *munja* was performed, and he was very happy to become a Brahmacārin, or adult unmarried ascetic; and unmarried he resolved to remain all his life. That he was now permitted to recite the holy texts gave him great pleasure; and though he had no Guru, he tried his best to keep all the forms as he had read them or seen them explained in the religious books. When he was nine or ten years old, his father decided that it was time for him to marry, and selected the girl and fixed the date for the ceremony. Rāmdās had said little about his resolve not to marry, and what little he said his father did not heed. So the boy allowed the preparations to go on, even to the point where the shawl is dropped between the "high contracting parties," and the priest begins to say the irrevoca-

ble words. But just as the priest opened his mouth Rāmdās descended from the marriage throne, told his father he would not marry, and leaving the house made his way to the jungle. Here, in a cave on the side of the hill Sajanagara, near Parali, about four miles from Sātāra, he dwelt and worshipped "with heart and soul," performing the Sāndhya ceremonies according to all the prescribed rites. At the end of twelve years Rāma appeared to him and endowed him with miraculous power. After that he took up his residence in the village of Parali; and in the great temple at that place are still to be seen his stick, his drinking-cup, and his coach. Here Shivaji heard of him, went to visit him, and was so pleased that he made him his Guru. Thenceforth the king did nothing, great or small, public or private, without consulting this sage. Rāmdās had many disciples, of whom Kalyāṇa was the chief; and together they traveled and revived the Hindu religion all over India as far north as Benares, introducing the worship of Mārōti, a popular god, not so hedged about with ceremonies as are most of the other Hindu divinities.

Many anecdotes, most of them of miraculous character, have crystallized about the name of Rāmdās.

It is said that one day when Rāmdās was at Parali, Shivaji wished to see him. No sooner had the thought taken shape in the king's mind than Rāmdās stood before him in Sātāra Fort. The king was amazed, but as he was fond of him and an honest and true disciple he made bold to ask how he had come there in so short a time. Rāmdās answered that he should see; and he forthwith placed one foot on Sātāra Fort and the other on the fort at Parali four miles distant. Shivaji began to be afraid when he saw this, and the sage resumed his natural form. Thenceforth the king regarded him more highly than ever before.

There was another sage who had miraculous power, but he was very proud. Rāmdās decided that something should be done to lessen his pride. So one day he took a buffalo and killed it before all the people. Everyone was horrified, and they sent word to Shivaji and to the other sage. Meanwhile Rāmdās had the flesh cut up and put into baskets and carried into the cook-room; and when the king appeared, he asked what he had come for. Shivaji said nothing, but the rival sage answered

that it was not proper for a Brahman to kill a buffalo. Rāmdās asked, where was any buffalo killed? The sage replied that its flesh was in the cook-room. Rāmdās told him that if that were so, to bring it out. The sage went to get it, but strange to say, all the baskets were filled with dishes! Then the sage fell at the feet of Rāmdās and begged him to pardon him; but Rāmdās replied that it was only to remove his pride that he had done this.

Rāmdās was kind to all and made no distinction between Brahmans, Mohammedans, etc. One day a Mohammedan emperor invited him to meet him in one of the forts. As soon as they were inside, the emperor had all the doors locked and asked the sage how he could get out. In these old forts on the hill-tops, there are small holes at the edge through which those within could fire down on the enemy below. Rāmdās replied that he could go out through one of these holes. The emperor did not believe him and told him to go. Whereupon the sage made his body smaller in diameter than a bullet, and passed through quite easily. The emperor was greatly amazed, and from that day began to love and reverence him.

The disciples of Rāmdās were very honest and just, and greatly devoted to him. One of the disciples used to give the sage *wida*, first chewing the leaf to make it soft, so that he could eat it easily. Rāmdās by his miraculous power knew this, but because the man was a good disciple, he ate the *wida* that he brought him. One day a gentleman told Rāmdās all about it. The latter told the man to tell the disciple to send the instrument by which he reduced the *wida* to pulp. When the disciple heard this he took a sword, and cutting off his own head, handed it to the man. At this the gentleman began to be afraid, but he was obliged to carry the head to the sage. When he told Rāmdās, the latter replied that the disciple would do anything for him, so he loved him and ate the *wida*; but he was afraid the disciple would die without his head. So he took the head and put it on again, and it was as good as ever: but he did not set it quite straight, and the disciple ever after had his head twisted a little to one side.

Kalyāṇa was the first and chief disciple of Rāmdās. One day, in order to put the latter to the test, Rāmdās did a miracle. He called together all his disciples and showed them a great

swelling on his thigh from which he was suffering much pain, and he told them that if any of them would suck the matter from it he would recover, but otherwise he would die. All professed great sympathy, but as he called on them one by one to perform this service, "they all with one accord began to make excuses." But when he came to Kalyāṇa and asked if he were willing, this disciple replied that he had made an offering of his life to him and therefore he would do anything. Then he applied his lips to the swelling, but as he did so the lump became a large and sweet mango! Everyone was astonished, and Kalyāṇa became chief of the disciples.

At another time, to put Shivaji to the test, Rāmdās told the king that he was very sick, but that if he would bring him some milk from a tigress he would recover. The king resolved to bring the milk or die in the attempt. So he started out and came to a thick jungle and entered it and began to search for a cave. Presently he found one with a big tigress inside. She was very fierce and terrible, and as he approached her she made at him. But strong in his resolution, he was not afraid, but went boldly up to her and began milking her. This enraged her still more, and she tried to eat him, but he persevered and filled his pot with the milk. Then he started to go home; but as he looked back he saw, not the tigress, but the sage! So the king fell at his feet rejoicing, and thenceforth Rāmdās regarded him as one of his most devoted disciples.

[The *Deshāsta* Brahmans mentioned in this article are those of the Deccan from Ahmadnugger to Sātāra, in contradistinction to the Konkon Brahmans of the coast. *Mārōti*, as Miss Grieve carefully writes the word, to give the pronunciation, is Sk. *Māruti*, in the epic a late epithet of Hanuman, but now the usual name of this deity in the mouth of the common people. The statement that the worship of Hanuman was introduced by Rāmdās is interesting as a legend. Historically it may be doubted whether it was even revived; perhaps it was extended or emphasized by the saint. The *wida* is the betel, Sk. *vṛikā*. —ED.]

*A Bibliography of the Plays of Bhavabhūti and of Kṛṣṇamiśra.*—By MONTGOMERY SCHUYLER, JR., United States Embassy, St. Petersburg.

IN volumes xxii (1901, pp. 237-248), and xxiii (1902, pp. 93-101) of the JAOS. I published a bibliography of the dramatic works of Kālidāsa, and in the *Verhandlungen des XIII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses* (Sektion ii a, pp. 33-37) a bibliography of the plays of Harsadeva. The present article is designed to continue the compilation of a "Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama," which is to appear as Volume III of the Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series. Bhavabhūti wrote three plays, the *Mālatīmādhava* and two dramas or dramatic epics on the life of Rāma, the *Mahāvīracarita* and the *Uttararāmacarita*, while Kṛṣṇamiśra is known by his only work, the interesting *Prabodhacandrodaya* or "Rise of the Moon of Intellect," a play resembling the early mystery plays of mediæval Europe.<sup>1</sup>

## MĀLATĪMĀDHAVA.

### TRANSLATIONS.

#### A. English.

1. *Malati and Madhava or the Stolen Marriage*, translated from Sanskrit by H. H. Wilson.  
(In his "Theatre of the Hindus," vol. ii.)

#### B. French.

- Malati et Madhava.* Drame traduit du sanscrit et du prakrit par G. Strehly, précédé d'une préface par A. Bergaigne.  
Paris, 1885, 12°, pp. 12+274.  
(Bibl. Orient. Elzéver. xlii.)

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<sup>1</sup> Here, as in the three articles mentioned above, the translations are arranged according to the language in which they are written, and under each heading chronological sequence is followed. In transcribing titles I have usually followed the spelling of the original. Works of general criticism dealing only incidentally with the plays are not noted here. Nor have manuscripts been included, although I expect to include them in the forthcoming *Bibliography of the Sanskrit Drama*.

**C. German.**

Malatimadhava, ein indisches drama von Bhavabhuti. Zum ersten Male und metrisch aus dem Original ins Deutsche übersetzt von Ludwig Fritze.

Leipzig, 1883, 32°, pp. 125.

**D. Dutch.**

Malati en Madhava. Een Indische drama vertaald en verkort door P. A. S. van Limburg Brouwer.

(In Tijdspiegel, 1871, i, 418.)

**E. Bengali.**

Malatee Mudhaba, a comedy of Bhavabhootee. Translated into Bengalee from the original Sanskrit, by Kali Prusno Sing.

Calcutta, 1859.

**F. Marathi.**

Malatimadhava. Translated into Marathi by K. S. Rajvade and revised by Chiplonkar.

Bombay, 1861, 8°, pp. 152.

**TEXT EDITIONS.**

1. Mālatīmādhava; a drama in ten acts; with a commentary of the Prakrit passages.

Calcutta, 1830, 8°, pp. 175.

2. Malatimadhavae fabulae actus I. cum variis lectionibus edidit C. Lassen.

Bonnae, 1832, 4°, pp. 48.

3. Mālatīmādhava, with a translation of the Prakrit passages edited by Kailasa Chandra Dutt.

Calcutta, 1866, 8°, pp. 148.

4. Mālatīmādhava with the commentary of Jagaddhara, edited with notes, critical and explanatory, by Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar.

Bombay, 1876, 8°, pp. 399+76. Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. xv.

5. Mālatīmādhava, edited with a commentary by Jibānanda Vidyāsāgara.

Calcutta, 1876, 8°, pp. 185.



6. *Mālatīmādhava* with the commentary of Tripuraisuri called *Bhavapradīpaka*, in Telugu.  
Madras, 1883, 8°, pp. 128.
7. *Malatimadhava*. *Satika*, Part I.  
Calcutta, 1886, 8°, pp. 60.
8. *Mālatīmādhava*. With the commentary of Jagaddhara.  
· Edited with an interpretation of the Prakrit passages by  
Bhuvanachandra Vasūka.  
Calcutta, 1886, 8°, pp. 317.
9. *Mālatīmādhava*, with the commentary of Tripurari and  
Jagaddhara, edited by M. R. Telang.  
Bombay, 1892, 8°, pp. 402.

## MAHĀVĪRACARITA.

### TRANSLATIONS.

#### A. English.

- Mahāvīracarita*. The Adventures of the Great Hero Rama.  
An Indian Drama in seven acts. Translated into English  
Prose from the Sanskrit by John Pickford, M.A.  
London, 1871, 8°, pp. xvi+172.  
London, 1892 reprinted, 12°, pp. 20+172.

### TEXT EDITIONS.

1. *Mahāvīracarita*. Edited by Francis Henry Trithen.  
London, 1848, 4°, pp. iv+147.
2. *Maha Vira Charita*, a drama in seven acts. Edited by Tara-  
natha Tarkavachaspati with occasional glosses.  
Calcutta, 1857, 8°, pp. ii+120.
3. *Maha Vira Charita*. Edited with notes by Jibānanda Vidyā-  
sāgara.  
Calcutta, 1873, 8°, pp. 142.
4. *Maha Vira Charita*. Edited by Anundoram Borooah, with  
a Sanskrit commentary and a Sanskrit-English glossary.  
Calcutta, London. 1877, 8°, pp. xiii+310.
5. *Maha Vira Charita*, edited with various readings and notes  
in Sanskrit by Sridhara Ganesa Jyotishi.  
Poona, 1887, 8°, pp. 135+29.

6. *Maha Vira Charita*, with the commentary of Viraraghava, edited by T. R. Ratnam Aiyar, S. Rahgachariar, and K. P. Parab.

Bombay, 1892, 8°, pp. 260.

#### CRITICAL WORK.

*Mahaviracarita*, analysed in Wilson, "Theatre of the Hindus," vol. ii.

#### UTTARARĀMACARITA.

##### TRANSLATIONS.

##### A. English.

1. *Uttara Rāma Charita*. Translated by H. H. Wilson.  
In his "Theatre of the Hindus," vol. i.
2. *Uttara Rāma Charita*, a literal translation from the original Sanskrit by Hiranmaya Mukhopadhyaya.  
Calcutta, 1871, 8°, pp. 84.
3. *Uttara Rama Charita*. Translated into English by C. H. Tawney.  
1° edition. Calcutta, 1871, 8°, pp. 81;  
2° edition. Calcutta, 1874, 8°, pp. 101.
4. *Uttararāma Charita*. An English Translation by K. K. Bhattacharyya.  
Calcutta, 1891, 8°, pp. 142.
5. *Uttara Rama Charita*, edited with a Sanskrit commentary by B. S. Ghate. Together with an English translation and notes, a vocabulary and introduction by V. S. Patvardhan.  
Nagpur, 1895, 8°, pp. 336.

##### B. French.

*Le Dénouement de l'histoire de Rama, Outtara Rama Charita*  
drame de Bhavabhouti, traduit avec une introduction  
sur la vie et les oeuvres de ce poete par F. Nève.  
Bruxelles, Paris, 1880, 8°.

##### C. Hindi.

*Uttar Ram Charita*, by L. Sita Rama.  
Allahabad, 1899, 8°, pp. 96.  
(In "Our Ancient Theatre," No. 2, by Sita Rama.)

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1. Uttara Rāma Charita, or continuation of the history of Rama, with a commentary explanatory of the Prakrit passages.  
Calcutta, 1831, 8°, pp. 132.
2. Uttara Rāma Charita. Edited at the request of [and with a preface by] E. B. Cowell, by Premachandra Tarkabagisa. With a short commentary.  
Calcutta, 1862, 8°, pp. 181.
3. Uttara Rama Charita, edited with commentary by Tarakumara Chakravati. With a preface by Barada Prasada Majumdar.  
Calcutta, 1870, 8°, pp. 208.
4. Uttara Rāma Charita. Edited with Sanskrit notes by Iswarachandra Vidyasagara.  
Third (?) Edition. Calcutta, 1876, 8°, pp. xv+246.
5. Uttara Rama Charita, with a commentary called Bhavabodhi by Ramachandra Budhendra. In Grantha characters.  
Madras, 1881, 8°.
6. Uttara Rama Charita, with extracts from two Sanskrit commentaries and notes in English by Krishnarao Bapaji Mande.  
Poona, 1881, 8°, pp. 75+17.
7. Uttara Rama Charita, a drama in seven acts. Edited by Jibānanda Vidyāsāgara.  
First Edition. Calcutta, 1881.  
Second Edition. Calcutta, 1889, 8°, pp. 268.
8. Uttara Rama Charita, a Sanskrit Drama, edited with copious Sanskrit and English notes by Shrinivas Govind Bhanap.  
First Edition. Bombay, 1888, 8°, pp. 212.  
Second Edition. Bombay, 1893, 8°, pp. 218.
9. Uttara Rama Charita, with Sanskrit commentary by Pandit Bhatji Shastri Ghate, together with a close English translation and notes by Vinyak Sadashiv Patvardhan.  
Nagpur, 1895, 8°, 12+192+31+16.
10. Uttara Rama Charita. With the commentary of Viraraghava. Edited by T. R. Ratnam Aiyar and K. P. Parab.  
Bombay, 1899, 8°, pp. 174.  
(See also No. 4 under Translations above.)

**CRITICAL WORK.**

Weber, Albrecht. Über das Uttamacaritrakathānakam, die Geschichte vom Prinzen Trefflichst.  
Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Ak., 1884, p. 269.

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Bhavabhūti and his Place in Sanskrit Literature by Anundoram Borooah.  
Calcutta, 1878, 8°, pp. 64.

**KRṢṆAMĪŚRA.****PRABODHACANDRODAYA.****TRANSLATIONS.****A. English.**

Prabodha Chandrodaya, or Rise of the Moon of Intellect, a spiritual drama, and Atma Bōdha, or the Knowledge of the Spirit. Translated from the Sanskrit by J. Taylor, M.D.

1° ed. Bombay, 1812.

2° ed. Calcutta. 1854, 8°, pp. xiii+125.

3d° ed. Bombay, 1893, 8°, pp. 18+74.

**B. French.**

Traduction de la Prabodhacandrodaya sanskrite par S. Deveze.  
Paris, Revue de Linguistique, Vol. xxxii, July, 1899, et seq.

**C. German.**

1. Prabod'h Chandro'daya, das ist der Aufgang des Mondes der Erkenntniss, ein allegorisches Drama. Nach der englischen Übersetzung des Dr. J. Taylor von J. G. Rhode.  
Only the first three acts completed.  
Berlin, 1820, In Beiträge zur Alterthumskunde mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Morgenland, 2° Heft, pp. 41-99.

2. Prabodha Chandrodaya. Die Geburt des Begriffs. Ein theologisch-philosophisches Drama, zum ersten Male ins Deutsch übersetzt; mit einem Vorwort eingeführt von K. Rosenkranz.

Translated by Th. Goldstucker; published without his name.

Königsberg, 1842, 8°, pp. xxv+183.

3. Prabodha Chandrodaya oder der Erkenntnismondengang. Philosophisches Drama. Nebst Kalidasa Meghaduta. Metrisch übersetzt von B. Hirzel.

Zürich, 1846, 8°.

#### D. Dutch.

- De Maan der Kennis. Theologisch, Metaphysisch Drama. Vertaald door P. A. S. van Limburg Brouwer.

Amsterdam, 1869, 8°.

#### E. Russian.

- Prabodha Candrodaya. Perevod po Russki. Kovalevsky.

#### F. Bengali.

1. Atmatattvakaumadi, being a paraphrase of the Prabodha Chandrodaya in Bengali by K. Tarkapanchadana, G. Gangadhar, and R. Siromani.

Calcutta, 1822; 8°, pp. 194, with the verses of the original in Sanskrit.

Another edition. Calcutta, 1855, 8°, pp. 190.

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3. Prabodh Chandroday, translated from Sanskrit by Gangadhar Nyayaratna of Rajpur.

Calcutta, 1852.

4. Prabodha Chandrodaya, a drama in six acts with a commentary by Maheshvara Nyayalamkara. Edited by Bhavani-charana Sarman.

Calcutta, 1832, fol. pp. 54.

#### G. Hindustani.

- Tahzil i makal also called Ta'wiz i iman. Translated by Aka Hasan.

Gujranwala, 1871, 8°, pp. 60.

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Leipzig, 1835-45, 8°, pp. viii+254.  
With the commentaries of Ramadasa and Nyayalamkara.
2. Prabodha Chandrodaya, with the commentary of Nyayalamkara.  
Calcutta, 1838.
3. Prabodha Chandrodaya.  
Poona, 1851.
4. Prabodha Chandrodaya, with the commentary of Nyayalamkara. Edited by Jibānanda Vidyāsūgara.  
Calcutta, 1874, 8°, pp. 135.
5. Prabodha Chandrodaya. With Ramadasa's commentary called Prakasa. Edited by Sarasvati Tiruvēkatacharya.  
Madras, 1876, 8°, pp. iii+166.
6. Prabodha Chandrodaya, with Ramadasa's Prakasa, revised by Tryambaka Gondhalekhara.  
2° ed. Poona, 1881, 8°, pp. 136.
7. Prabodha Chandrodaya, edited with a commentary by Ramadas Vinaya Dikshit.  
Poona, 1886, 8°, pp. 178.
8. Prabodhacandrodaya, with the commentary Prakasa of Dikshitaramadasa.  
Madras, 1891, 8°, pp. 166. In Telugu.
9. Prabodhacandrodaya. Edited by Adyanath Vidyabhushan.  
Shibpur, 1894, 8°, pp. 168.
10. Prabodha Chandrodaya Natakam. With a commentary by Mahesvar Nyayalamkara, edited by Pandit H. Sastri.  
Calcutta, 1895, 8°, pp. 161.
11. Prabodha Chandrodaya with the commentary Candrika.  
Bombay, 1898, pp. 251.
12. Prabodha Chandrodaya. With two commentaries in Sanskrit.  
Bombay, 1898, 8°, pp. 247+4.





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